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By Hugh C. Wolfe

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Answers to The Hydrogen Riddle

By Dr. HUGH C. WOLFE
Chairman, Federation of American Scientists

WHILE atomic fission, the principle of the A-bomb, has constructive values for mankind, the H-bomb is only a killer.

If enemy planes loaded with H-bombs should penetrate US interceptors, anti-aircraft and other defenses, they could conceivably exterminate 50 million out of 150 million people in the US within a few hours by concentrating on New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh and other industrial and highly congested areas.

The destructiveness of the H-bomb is virtually limitless. It is the material expression of the spirit of nihilism.

Atomic fission can be used to advance medical research, notably in the field of cancer, and ultimately to supplement—if not to supplant—such fuels as coal and oil and hydro-electric power as a source of energy. But the H-bomb can only destroy. It can serve no creative or constructive purpose. Before, however, succumbing to the headline hysteria which too often surcharges this subject with panic and blind escapism, consider these three basic facts about the H-bomb:

(1) It doesn't exist at present, except as a theoretical calculation. It will take some 12 months to bring it to the stage of the first experimental A-bomb set off at Alamogordo in New Mexico on July 16, 1945. Even when the H-bomb reaches this stage of development, there is a fair chance that it will not work at all—that it will prove to be a dud.

(2) The prophecies that all living matter will be annihilated as a result of an H-bomb war are far more in the realm of the technically possible than in the realm of the realistically probable. Life—or what Bergson called *élan vital*—is hard to get rid of altogether.

To be sure, vast devastation on a scale never before imagined can make great areas unfit for human habitation. Radioactivity released by an H-bomb explosion could probably extinguish most if not all forms of animal and vegetable life within limited areas. But in this regard we must remember that, through the eons of the earth's development, nature has found ways to adapt itself to drastically changed conditions and living matter in one manifestation or another may survive.

Even after a full scale H-bomb war, it is not likely that all the people of a particular land mass or continent will be dissolved. From a strategic standpoint, for example, enemy bombers would seek to knock out concentrations of economic and industrial power such as Boston and Seattle but would leave the wheat fields of Kansas and Iowa alone.

Some suggestion has been made that the large scale use of H-bombs might so poison the atmosphere with radioactivity as to make human life on this planet impossible. If it can be shown that this is a valid prediction, we may expect that the H-bomb will never be used. Mass suicide does not appeal even to dictators.

The bomb is too costly a weapon to be used to kill a comparatively few human beings. In this respect, if a war between the US and the USSR should occur, the latter would be at a great advantage. For one thing, the Russians have infinitely more space. They lack the industrial clusterings which are the source of America's production might. For another thing, the US is a more "technologically tenuous" civilization and its people accustomed to higher living standards than the Russians.

A breakdown in water supply, electric light and such transportation facilities as railroads, with all the accompanying deprivations, would tend to paralyze the American people both materially and psychologically. The Russians are more primitive. They can live on roots. They can sleep in the forest. They are in terms of sheer ability to survive, both more primordial and tougher. They are closer to the earth and are not acclimated to the day-by-day easements and comforts which Americans take for granted.

On the other hand, the very fact that US technology is more advanced than that of the USSR gives the former a comparative advantage in the manufacture of the H-bomb and in producing aircraft or guided missiles with which to deliver it on target. In this connection, however, it should not be forgotten that perhaps the major blunder of American foreign policy in recent years has been to underestimate the scientific, engineering and technical capacities of the USSR. It was able to turn out an A-bomb four years after we had done so. We have no sound basis for predicting that we will be ahead of them in the development of the H-bomb.

(3) The H- or "Triton" bomb differs fundamentally from the uranium or plutonium bomb in these crucial particulars. The A-bomb is based on the splitting of heavy elements into lighter elements. The H-bomb is based on the synthesis of helium out of the lightest element, namely, hydrogen, in the forms of deuterium and tritium. In each case, the heat energy which appears results from the fact that the end product weighs less than the initial materials of which it is composed.

The H-bomb formula is based upon Einstein's 1905 equation $e=mc^2$. The mass converted into energy in the A-bomb is one-tenth of one per cent of the mass of the reacting of material, while the corresponding figure for the H-bomb may be about three-tenths of one percent. There is a definite limit on the size of an A-bomb because

of the critical mass of material which explodes spontaneously if more than a fixed amount is used. Today's A-bomb, without its elaborate container and accompanying mechanisms, is a chunk the size of an indoor baseball or a softball.

The size of the H-bomb has not yet been determined, not only because none has yet been made, but also because theoretically the H-bomb is infinitely extensible. It can be built to any size limited only by a carrier huge enough to transport it. One might guess that modern bombers could transport an H-bomb one hundred times more devastating than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

The first H-bomb may be produced in the US within the next twelve months or thereabouts. The cost of a "small" one just big enough to test out the principle might be around $100 million, in contrast to the $2 billion required for the research and the large scale new facilities needed to develop the first A-bomb. The reason for this difference in cost is that much of the apparatus used to construct an H-bomb is the same as that for the A-bomb. In large measure, therefore, plant and machinery are already at hand.

The A-bomb still has another connection with the H-bomb. The latter can be set off only by an A-bomb acting as a trigger at its core. It can not go off by itself. The cost of the A-bomb therefore has to be added to that of the H-bomb. It takes the H-bomb about one-millionth of a second to explode, after it is triggered off.

This has necessarily raised the question as to whether or not the pilot and crew of a bomber conveying the H-bomb would have to be a *Kamikaze* — or suicide squadron. This is incorrect. It is not at all impossible to synchronize the timing devices with the speed needed for a plane to get away after dropping the H-bomb. Height, gravity pull, weight resistance—all enter into this calculation. Of course, this hardly means that to be an H-bomb bombardier or other crew member is the healthiest occupation in the world. It does mean, however, that in the majority of cases, the plane dropping the bomb will not be destroyed in the ensuing explosion.

The US, I believe, despite the fears aroused by the treason of Dr. Fuchs, will never resort to the tactics of totalitarian terror of persecution, will never close its mind to scientific contributions from any country. This will be true, not only for ideological but also for very persuasive, practical reasons. If we had, for example, excluded from the Manhattan Engineering District the distinguished scientists from Europe—Einstein, Meitner, Fermi and others—the US would not have had an atom bomb. No doubt, many of this same group will play a key role in developing the H-bomb.

Indeed, perhaps the foremost figure in the creation of the H-bomb to date is Dr. Edward Teller, the dynamic and brilliant Hungarian scientist, trained at the Universities of Budapest, Munich and Leipzig, who became an American citizen in 1941.

The final indispensable weapon of the US is the free, open and questing mind.

The very awesomeness of this kind of an explosion has highlighted the question of the H-bomb's morality. The scientist, in the public mind, has often become the sponsor and symbol of mass murder. He bears the mark of Cain. It is, to be sure, regrettable that the knowledge and techniques of science have been devoted to such destructiveness. But this is the fault of the organization of human society, national and international. It is not the fault of the individual scientist, drawing on his skills to serve his government.

It is war itself which is immoral, not a particular lethal instrument, no matter how frightening and prodigious and horrible. Hence, in my view, the US Government should immediately commence negotiations looking toward not only the outlawing of the H-bomb and the A-bomb but—even more importantly—to the outlawing of war itself.

It is well worth noting that any effective plan for control of atomic energy provides implicitly for control of the H-bomb, since the A-bomb is a key component of it. One should add heavy water and tritium to the list of materials to be checked by an international inspectorate.

While the UN majority plan for control of atomic energy based on the Acheson-Lilienthal study of 1946 is excellent, it is pretty apparent after four years of deadlock that it will not be accepted by the Russians and therefore cannot be put into effect. I hope very greatly that the President will appoint a new commission to study atomic energy controls as a part of a general disarmament program, along with the interrelated political and economic problems, and to suggest new American proposals for action by the UN.

Certainly, if the US came up with new proposals to abolish warfare, it would gain tremendous new support among the peoples of the world. Its moral stature and influence would be immeasurably increased. For by this very act, it would again demonstrate that freedom and democracy are the progenitors of peace, in contrast to tyranny and the garrison state which, from the dawn of history, have been the precursors of war.

The preservation of freedom and liberty in the world depends on our military strength but it depends even more on our practicing our democratic faith at home and our helping to establish world economic conditions under which the people in other lands will feel that they have a stake in a democratic society worth fighting for.

All mankind must cry "*mea culpa*," not merely the nuclear physicist, the chemist, the engineer, the metallurgist, the research technician. Their moral obligation, like that of all others with a sense of ethical responsibility, is to work, to eradicate the social, political and economic conditions which pervert and prostitute science—in short, to remove the causes of war.

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United Nations

Coming: the greatest meeting

Holiday for Death

Seventy-three governments—fourteen more than hold membership in the UN—will participate in the most universal gathering of nations ever held. It is scheduled to convene at Lake Success at an early date, in accordance with decisions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. Purpose: to chart a broad plan of technical assistance to backward countries. Such a program, in the words of US Senator McMahon, is part of the life-and-death race in our time to create "abundance among all men" or destroy them by scientific means.

Non-member nations to be represented at the Technical Assistance Conference are: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Korea, Monaco, Portugal, Rumania and Switzerland. Each is eligible by reason of its membership in a UN Specialized Agency.

Member nations will be asked to "sign on the dotted line" for the

sums they are prepared to invest in the wellbeing of mankind, as insurance against atomic death. It is predicted that both East and West bloc nations will contribute funds and technicians. Even before the checks are deposited, the UN will forge ahead with expanded technical assistance plans, out of current budget.

By mid-year it seems certain that a vast network of programs will be under way, in South America, the Near East, and Africa. Any attempt to gauge the scope would be premature, with virtually every underdeveloped area on the globe pushing its claim to early industrialization.

Plans for a World Boom

How to attain a thriving world economy is the paramount question before the UN Economic and Social Council, currently holding its Tenth Session at Lake Success, under the able presidency of Ambassador Hernan Santa Cruz. Delegates see prosperity, full employment and a global boom as the one sure answer to the H-bomb. For a well-fed, well-heeled world is less likely to be inflamed by the torch of war than one in which two-thirds of the planet's two billion people are living close to the starvation level.

In the absence of the Russians, the ECOSOC session raced through six items of its agenda the first day, which in time of their active participation might have required ten days. All the same, there was deep regret that the USSR chairs were unoccupied.

Plan of Action

A basic plan for maintaining prosperity at a high level in the advanced countries was unanimously approved. It calls for three measures:

I. Adoption of a full-employment figure or "target," which when it declines will serve as a warning that action is needed;

II. A full-fledged government program of fiscal and monetary policies, investment and production planning, wage and price policies, aimed at stabilizing consumer demand at the full-employment level;

III. A system of compensatory measures to be automatically applied whenever unemployment rises to a predetermined level for three successive months.

ECOSOC had before it the General Assembly's recommendation for urgent action on economic development of the underdeveloped countries. But the Assembly warned that social welfare questions should not be overlooked in programs of industrial expansion in the backward areas. This suggestion has been promptly met by planning for community services to accompany technical assistance.

Gigantic Tasks Ahead

The world economic picture that faced the ECOSOC delegates divided into two main themes: 1) how to maintain employment and avert economic slumps in the technically advanced countries; 2) how to use modern technology to increase manufactures and trade and improve agriculture in the backward countries, so that they may better provide for their populations.

The "boom and bust" cycle of the advanced nations was regarded as due to instability of private investment in plant, equipment, business inventories and residential building. But it was foreseen that remedies

Action Report

in world history—73 nations

must differ somewhat in different countries, depending on the degree of governmental planning and control.

Bringing Up the Colonies

Another "minor league" tussle that has been obscured by East-West strife centers in the Trusteeship Council, where the colonial and non-colonial powers have been slugging it out for some time. The Council is determined that the peoples of the trust areas and non-selfgoverning territories shall have a chance to "grow up" in the family of nations. They want them to advance socially and economically, and learn to manage their own affairs. The Council won a major victory when the Fourth General Assembly confirmed its right to appraise and criticize the work of the administering governments.

One way of doing this is by on-the-spot inspection. As ordered by the Council's Sixth Session, which met recently in Geneva, small groups of its members will leave promptly for the Pacific, to visit Nauru (see UNW, January), New Guinea, Western Samoa, and the islands of the Marianas, Carolines and Marshalls. They will look around and see for themselves whether the natives are getting a square deal, and what needs to be changed.

WHO:

After the Mad Dogs

Egypt and Israel see eye-to-eye on one thing: their urgent desire to control human rabies, resulting from the bite of a mad dog. Last month the World Health Organization's doctors and researchers began experiments in both countries with a new concentrated hyper-immune serum for human beings. It had been tried only on animals in the United States, but was found to give these a longer and higher immunity from rabies than the old vaccine, the effect of which lasted only for a year.

In Egypt, where the dog population is huge, mortality from human rabies is one of the highest in the world, despite vaccination. The new serum will be tried out there on some 400 persons in test groups, over a period of a year and a half. In Israel it will be used experimentally for eradication of rabies by inoculation of dogs.

ILO:

Battle for Union Rights

In a bold move to protect workers throughout the world in their right to organize, the International Labor Organization last month created a Fact-Finding Commission on Freedom of Association. The nine-man commission will investigate infringements of trade union rights, anywhere in the world—but only with permission of the government concerned. However, if the ILO believes a complaint should be investigated, and permission is withheld, it is prepared to take alternative action. This would include publicizing the charges made, the comments of the government, and its refusal to cooperate in getting at the facts and conciliating the issue. The commission will hear views of workers' and employers' organizations and government, in its effort to adjust difficulties by agreement.

ILO expects far-reaching results from its recent Asian Regional Conference in Ceylon. Sixteen resolutions of the Conference are now before the ILO Governing Board. They include proposals that the Asian governments establish wage-fixing machinery to protect workers, labor inspection, employment services and vocational and technical training. These are seen as first steps in plans to make full use of Asian manpower, in order to "root out and fight the ills of poverty, disease, famine and ignorance." The words are those of David A. Morse, Director General of ILO, and he adds that this is "the surest and really the only road to world peace."

FAO:

Persian Lambs Send SOS

Roaming the Iranian plateau in Afghanistan, Russian Turkestan and Iran are numberless herds of sheep known as the "karacul." Their tightly-curled black or gray skins represent huge wealth: shipped to the far parts of the world, they are fashioned into costly persian lamb coats.

Last month an outbreak of rinderpest threatened the herds of Afghanistan. This deadly disease annually kills some 2,000,000 cattle and water-buffalo in Asia, where a serious epidemic could wipe out the food supply. An SOS call was made to the Food and Agriculture Organization in Washington. Dr. K. V. L. Kesteven, one of the world's leading veterinarians, hopped a plane for Cairo, Egypt, to pick up virus from which rinderpest vaccine is made. From there he flew to Afghanistant, began the inoculation of the

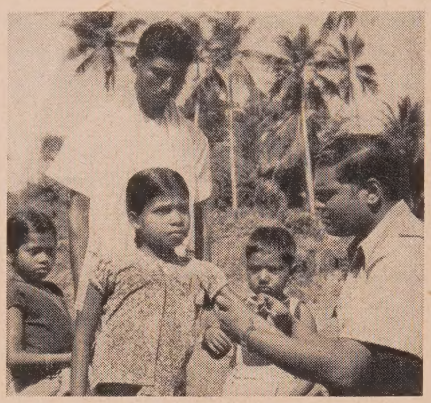
herds, quickly brought the menace under control.

This was only one item on FAO's calendar last month. In Rome it met to consider improvement of maize growing in Europe and the Near East, while in India—the twenty-second nation—experimentation began with FAO's hybrid corn seeds. At Rangoon, Burma, FAO's International Rice Congress wrestled with problems of improving rice and rice diets in Asia, and a working party started out to demonstrate how better rice can be grown. At Lucknow, India, and at Rome, FAO experts advised on livestock problems with those regionally interested.

UNICEF:

Pakistan's Children Win

Whether or not she ever wins Kashmir, Pakistan has just won the distinction of being selected by the UN International Children's Emergency Fund as the country where it will give the twenty millionth child its tuberculosis test, and vaccine against the disease, if indicated. Many countries had been thought of, including India, for the celebration of the "20,000,000 mark." UNICEF's anti-



tuberculosis program is conducted in cooperation with the Scandinavian Red Cross Societies, which began it at the war's end. UNICEF now reaches children all over Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and parts of Asia. It is just opening up shop in Latin America, with Mexico City as the anti-T.B. center. The drygoods: rosy cheeks and smiling eyes.

WHO advises on this campaign—but its own newest feature is the spread of maternal and child health services throughout the world, particularly in the underdeveloped countries. In Asia, infant mortality is enormous, knowledge of pre-natal and infant care very low. Last month a team of WHO experts left for southern Korea to set up child health clinics.

Talent Scouting for the UN

World Organization needs its experts, and the Specialized Agencies are its talent scouts. On February 27 six successful candidates for the International Civil Aviation Organization's third trainee program arrived in Montreal from their homes in Belgium, Brazil, Ceylon, Egypt, Mexico and Portugal, looking as happy as if they had just been signed up by Hollywood. There was one young woman in the group, Miss Maria Vivar Balderrama of Mexico. The five-months' training will prepare them for important liaison posts with ICAO, in the Civil Aviation administrations in their homelands.

The World Bank began its second trainee program in Washington recently, with a group of eight, all in their twenties, from Ecuador, India, Iran, Italy, Lebanon, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States. These also included one young woman, Miss Margaret S. Wolfson of England. They will learn international finance, prepare for administrative banking posts, be in line for vacancies in the World Bank itself.

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BERTRAND RUSSELL
answers the question
WHO WILL WIN WORLD WAR III?
on page 11

Stalin's "Separate Peace" in 1943

By Dr. ROBERT M. W. KEMPNER

Former Chief Prosecutor,
Nuremberg War Crimes Trials

WHEN Stalin negotiated with the Western Allies in 1943 and made his far-reaching political and economic demands, he held as a trump card German offers for a separate peace with the Soviet Union. The Soviet dictator played his cards close, and just how prominently the plans for such a separate peace figured in the power politics of World War II, can only be judged by the success he enjoyed at the conference table.

In the course of my work in Nuremberg as chief prosecutor of Nazi diplomats and cabinet members, I discovered the various moves for a separate peace from a number of German and Allied diplomats and I checked their statements against official documents.

There is conclusive evidence that there were four major moves for a separate understanding with Russia: first, after the American landing in Africa at the end of 1942; second, at the beginning of the Anglo-American offensive against Tunisia in the spring of 1943; third, through Japan; and fourth, through Stockholm up to the fall of 1943. Conciliatory efforts reached their climax in the summer and fall of 1943, after which Russia made agreement conditional on such difficult terms that the Germans, while continuing to sound out Eastern peace possibilities until the end of the war, no longer seriously hoped for a separate peace.

I. When, in the winter of 1942-1943, the German military operations in the East did not meet with the success anticipated by Hitler and his generals, and the landing of the American troops in North Africa threatened the European western and southern fronts, leading German policy makers began for the first time to entertain the thought of a separate peace with the Soviet Union. Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop was the strongest exponent of this idea.

In November 1942 Ribbentrop drew up his plan for a separate peace in the East in the form of a short memorandum to Hitler. The latter had scheduled a meeting with France's Premier Pierre Laval to confer on the new difficulties facing "Fortress Europe." Ribbentrop intercepted the Fuehrer as he was en route to this meeting, and tried to present his plan. He boarded Hitler's special train at Bamberg, Bavaria, but met with rebuff. Hitler was so absorbed in considerations of how to treat the African landing in his forthcoming Munich talk with Laval that he curtly admonished his Foreign Minister to concentrate on the matter at hand.

II. Nevertheless, Ribbentrop continued to hammer at the idea that through a special peace with Russia he could force the United States and Great Britain also to seek peace with Germany. He submitted to Hitler during the years 1943 and 1944 a series of elaborate memoranda on the importance of a separate peace with Russia.

Ribbentrop found support for his plans in the reports of the German Ambassador in Rome, Hans-Georg von Mackensen. The Ambassador relayed repeated warnings of Benito Mussolini that Germany should conclude a separate peace with Russia. Mussolini urged the same thing in a letter to Hitler on March 25, 1943, and shortly thereafter, emphasized it personally, when he met with Hitler from April 6 to 10 at Castle Klessheim near Salzburg, Austria. Hitler reacted evasively to Mussolini's suggestion at that time, partly because he had misgivings about the Italian's ability to handle such negotiations discreetly, partly because he still clung to the hope that the luck of the German armies in the East would change.

III. A few weeks later surprising reports came in from Japan that the Russians were open to proposals for a separate peace with Germany. Japanese government changes were under way at this time, and the Nippon authorities had just prevailed on the Soviet Union to renew their fishing agreement. Japanese General Staff officers had let it be known through the German Naval Attaché in Tokyo that they had definite information

that the Soviet Government was inclined to consider a separate peace with Germany. The Japanese press also carried a discussion of the possibilities for an understanding between Germany and the Soviets.

Ribbentrop conferred with Hitler several times in the course of 1943 on this subject and told him also of these reports from Japan. With the increased successes of the Allies, Hitler warmed to the idea of a separate peace, but was hesitant about responding to peace feelers because he feared indiscretions on the part of the negotiators, and was above all concerned lest the morale of his generals and troops in the East suffer.

The Stockholm Incident

IV. Early in the summer of 1943 rumors developed in neutral Sweden as to the possibilities of a Russo-German understanding. There are strong indications that they emanated from the Russian Embassy in Stockholm. Madame Alexandra Kollontay was the Soviet Ambassador to Sweden. V. Semionov, who later played a leading role in the Soviet occupation authorities in Eastern Germany, was her Embassy Counselor. On the German side there were in Stockholm, in addition to the regular Embassy staff, numerous agents of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris' military espionage organization who tried vehemently to split the Allies. Walter Schellenberg's notorious Sixth Department of the Gestapo also had its confidence-men and go-betweens there.

One of the most active go-betweens in Stockholm was a businessman by the name of Josef Clauss, who was originally from the Ukraine, but had lived for a long time in Sweden. He had established connections, dating back to the outbreak of hostilities, both with German military agents in Stockholm and with Russian Embassy personnel.

When Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop heard of the possibilities of a separate peace and the Clauss contacts, he immediately sent to Stockholm one of his most trusted men, a former employee of Ribbentrop Bureau, who was later appointed to a high post in the German Ministry for the East. This agent, Peter Kleist, traveled under the pretext of conferring with the Swedes on settling a group of Estonian refugees in Sweden. In Stockholm Clauss and Kleist contacted each other at once and discussed the topic of a separate peace. Clauss then talked things over with his friends of the Soviet Embassy. Neither let it be known to what extent he was empowered to act on behalf of Berlin or of Moscow. According to trustworthy German witnesses, Clauss delayed giving an answer to any German inquiry until his Russian Embassy contacts had secured instructions from Moscow.

Clauss advanced several convincing reasons for the USSR's willingness to negotiate a separate peace. In the wake of her victories, Russia no longer feared German military strength. Russia's primary objectives were not in Europe, but in Asia—especially in China. Moreover, Russia had lost confidence in the Western Allies in the face of Winston Churchill's demands for a Balkan landing instead of the big landing in France which Stalin was determined the Americans should make. Russia also was piqued by Churchill's backing of the Polish Government in London, with which the USSR had just severed relations. In Moscow, US Ambassador Admiral William H. Standley's recent criticism that the Soviets were not properly publicizing lend-lease deliveries to the Red Army, was still another issue for resentment.

The next step came when Molotov dispatched to Stockholm a top-ranking Soviet diplomat, A. Alexandrov.

As far as we were able to ascertain in our investigation of the Stockholm episode, there never was an actual meeting between a German representative and Alexandrov. When Alexandrov arrived in Stockholm, Kleist had just flown back to Berlin for further instructions. Apparently the Soviets were unwilling to have Alexandrov wait on the pleasure of German diplomacy.

Hitler Is Willing

Ribbentrop submitted the essence of the Stockholm negotiations to Hitler orally. The Fuehrer was entirely open to the proposal for a separate peace with Russia. Ribbentrop stated in Nuremberg that Hitler went so far as to sketch a demarcation line for the possible armistice. Nonetheless, it was difficult for the diplomats to obtain directives from him to proceed with further negotiations. There were opposing factions in the German Government and they did not hesitate to employ such diversionary tactics as spreading a rumor that Josef Clauss was a Jew, and that Russia's emissary Alexandrov was also a Jew.

Hitler was finally brought to a complete stop by secret reports that a conference was in the offing between the Western Allies and Russia to iron out their disagreements. He called a halt to Kleist's negotiations, suspecting that Stalin might be motivated not by any sincere desire for peace with the Germans, but merely by the intent of strengthening his hand vis-à-vis his Western partners.

In the fall and winter of 1943 meetings took place between the Western Allies and the Soviets, in Moscow and in Teheran. We know, and the Germans learned in December 1943 through their operation "Cicero,"* that these conferences brought the Russians considerable concessions from the Western Allies. It is enlight-

*Cicero was the undercover name of Hitler's most successful spy. Employed in the British Embassy in Ankara, he stole the secrets of the Moscow, Teheran and Cairo conferences.

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ening to have evidence that Stalin sat at the conference table confident that he had the alternative of a separate peace with Germany, if his Allies refused to accede to his demands.

UNW'S Latest World-Scoop

"First of the Kremlin's next three moves: Formal political and military alliance with Chinese government that will include non-Communists."

This forecast appeared in the December 1949 issue of UNW, on sale on November 25, weeks before Mao Tse-tung travelled to Moscow and almost three months before the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet treaty. Thus, UN WORLD editors — and UN WORLD readers—were nearly three months ahead of the newspaper headlines of February 15, 1950: "CHINA SIGNS 30-YEAR ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA."

USSR Back in UN By July 1

THAT Soviet Russia will be back in the UN by July 1 at the latest is the present conviction of the top leadership of the Economic and Social Council of the UN.

One clue pointing to such a prediction is the assiduity with which the whole Soviet delegation studies from day to day the documents issued by the UN, even though they have not participated in the activities which the documents report. The whole Soviet delegation is prepared to resume its UN business at a moment's notice. It is as conversant with the current business of the UN as any participating delegation.

(Continued on Page 57)

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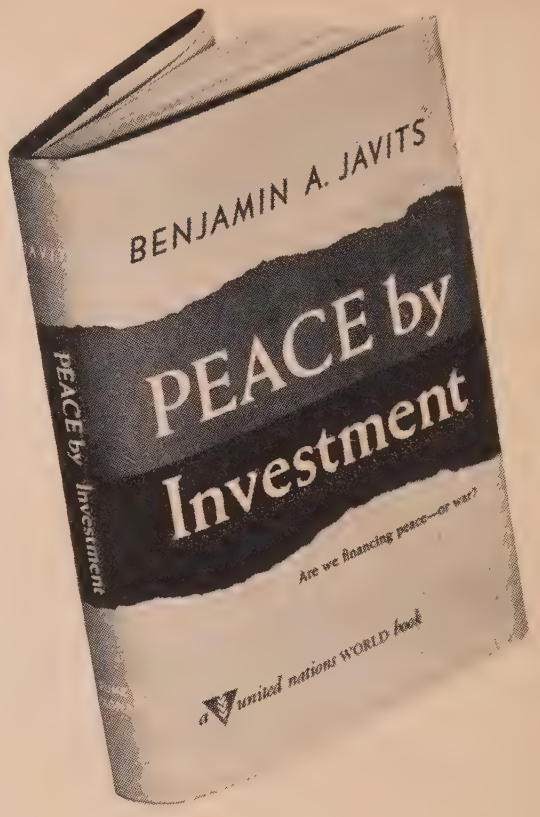

This book is the result of a series of discussions the author had with Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, while the latter was executive head of the War Production Board during 1942. In the conferences, the question constantly came up, "What will happen after the war?" and the corollary question "How can the peace be won?" One answer, perhaps a guide to *the* answer, is found in this book.

BARBARA WARD of the London *Economist* says:

"In my personal opinion, the subject matter of PEACE BY INVESTMENT is of vital importance and tackled both constructively and courageously."

RUSSELL DAVENPORT, *Fortune* editor, says:

"Mr. Javits is an original and forthright thinker whose long experience with contemporary problems in political economy has given him a fine insight into his latest subject, the problem of PEACE."

THIS BOOK MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE DECISION FOR WAR OR PEACE IS IN THE HANDS OF THE UNITED STATES — AND NOT IN THE HANDS OF RUSSIA.

PEACE by Investment

By BENJAMIN A. JAVITS

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United Nations WORLD Magazine March, 1950

Is A Third World War Inevitable?

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

If both Mr. Truman and Mr. Stalin were to read this article painstakingly, word for word, and follow its extremely cogent reasoning to its logical conclusions, World War III might be avoided.

Mr. Truman and the whole of the US should particularly ponder this key sentence of Lord Russell's article: "Rich nations and individuals tend to side with America; poor nations and individuals, with Russia."

Mr. Stalin and the whole of the Soviet Union should likewise ponder the reasons why a universalist and a progressive thinker such as Bertrand Russell should come to the conclusion that "the next war will be the greatest disaster that will have befallen the human race . . . I can think of only one greater disaster: the extension of the Kremlin's power over the whole world."

SINCE the year 1,000 A.D., when the end of the world was expected, there has never been a time of such general and profound anxiety as now afflicts the Western world. I should like to think that the anxiety will prove as groundless now as then, but I find this hardly possible. However, since diagnosis must precede prognosis, let us first try to assess the causes of tension. These causes are of several kinds: economic, political, and ideological. The problem is unduly simplified if any one of these is emphasized to the exclusion of the others.

To begin with the economic causes: there are rich nations and poor nations, and rich individuals in poor nations, and poor individuals in rich nations. Speaking very broadly, rich nations and individuals tend to side with America, poor nations and individuals with Russia. Consequently it is to Russia's interest to keep the world poor, and to America's interest to make the world prosperous. Of

Is A Third War Inevitable? *continued*

course communists profess that the poverty they promote is only a temporary means to universal prosperity; but for the present prosperity is their enemy.

If the tension is to be diminished in any permanent way, there must be more approach to economic equality between different nations. Such a contrast as that between the standard of life in China and that in the United States makes genuine friendship between the two countries very difficult. In the case of India, however, this very difficult feat appears to have been accomplished, thanks to the joint statesmanship of Nehru and the British Government.

Tension of Racial Inequality

Both in Asia and in Africa, there is a close association between economic and racial factors. In the nineteenth century white men had wealth, power and prestige; now this is no longer the case in Asia, and it is doubtful how long it will continue to be the case in Africa. The claim to equality with white men is a strong incentive to communism. The West has a difficulty from which Russia is free. There are parts of the world which claim equality, and to which the West can only offer equality in the form of independence, which may lead to chaos. Moscow, on the contrary, can offer what is regarded in advance as equality, though it is in fact submission to Russian imperialism. This has at least the advantage of not causing chaos.

Politically, the conflict is essentially similar to three previous ones, namely those provoked by Spain, France and Germany when they sought to conquer the world. The only *political* novelty is that formerly England led the defense, and now America does so. There were Fifth Columns in previous conflicts, just as there are now; England contained Catholics in 1588, revolutionaries in 1793, and Fascists in 1940. The pattern has been constant since the rise of Spain: one nation has thought itself sufficiently powerful to rule the world, but has been in the end defeated by a coalition of nations unwilling to lose their independence. In that coalition there has been a leader, which in the first two conflicts made immense gains by ultimate victory, but has not sought universal dominion. The same is true now. From communists and their friends we hear a great deal about American imperialism, but there is not in America the same determination as in Russia to create a vast monolithic state governed from a center nor is there the same intolerance of all systems other than that established in Washington.

The part played by the clash of ideologies in the present conflict is from one point of view very great, and from another little worse than a form of humbug. Whenever the defense of an ideology becomes identified with the defense of some power-groups, power politics tend to swamp the ideology in the minds of those who direct policy. The ideology survives nominally, but as little more than a trick for enlisting popular support.

In the sixteenth century, Catholic ideology was merged in Spanish imperialism, Protestant ideology in the profits of piracy. Napoleon, in his early days, was welcomed in Italy and Western Germany, because he was regarded as the standard-bearer of the Revolution; but when it came to the personal rule of his brothers and conscription for French wars, it became apparent that power politics had replaced Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. So it is now in the communist world: power politics for rulers, ideology for dupes and underlings.

New Historic Elements

I do not want to suggest that there is nothing new in the present state of affairs. On the contrary, several things are new.

Communist ideology is at once more radical and more supple than those of previous imperialisms. The devious dialectic of Karl Marx makes to certain intellectuals an appeal not unlike that which St. Paul made to St. Augustine; this appeal has the double strength of being nominally to the intellect but really to the emotions. To the discontented everywhere it offers upheaval and punishment of enemies. To victims of injustice, of whatever kind, it offers redress, all the more infallible because it proceeds according to a mysterious formula which professes to have discovered the very root of all injustice. A young Western intellectual who hates his father, a Jew who has suffered from anti-semitism, a Chinese infuriated by a century of foreign insolence, a Latin-American Indian who execrates the memory of Cortez and Pizarro—all these can easily accept the doctrine that the power of capital is the source of their sorrows.

The second thing that is new is the close-knit character of the organization. The Jesuits, it is true, were as well organized, and what they accomplished in the counter-reformation every one knows. But they were few, and Catholics outside their ranks were far less organized; many of these, moreover, were hostile to the Jesuits. There was not the same capacity of liquidating Trotskyites as there is now. It is true that this rigidity of organization has its drawbacks. Tito rebels against it; some English communists did not wholly relish the Hitler-Stalin Pact; some Italian communists failed to see how Karl Marx proved that they ought to relinquish the Italian claim to Trieste. But on the whole the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages, at least so far. Whether this will remain true is more questionable.

The third thing that is new is the fact that there are now only two Great Powers. And the fourth thing is the character of the weapons that will be used if the cold war becomes hot.

Will the cold war become hot? I do not know any more about this than is known to every diligent reader of the newspapers. But there are, I think, some things that can be said.

I do not believe that any genuine entente with the Kremlin is possible. Whenever the Kremlin thinks the moment inopportune for a war, it will be willing to make such show of

reasonableness as will soothe the nerves of the West. But the "mystique" of communism makes it appear that no real peace is possible, and that, sooner or later, communism must triumph. (Hegel's form of the dialectic proved the same for Germany.) There are, of course, parts of Marx's doctrine which the Kremlin has tacitly dropped, but the part which concerns the inevitability of war and the certainty of victory remains, and is, I think, genuinely believed by every communist from Stalin downward. And they think that we, on our side, must see that war is inevitable; therefore our overtures must be insincere and our professed desire for world peace must be humbug. While such beliefs persist it would be foolish to hope for genuine peace.

What hope is there, then, of averting an all-out war against Russia? The only hope, it seems to me, is to remain obviously stronger than Russia until new circumstances completely change the situation. There are various new circumstances that *might* have this effect. There may be a disputed succession after Stalin's death. Titoism may spread; I am convinced that China will not permanently submit to orders from Moscow, provided the West is tolerant of Chinese communism. Discontent may spread within Russia; it is already very considerable in the Ukraine. Time may make Russian officials lazy and inefficient, as they were under the Czars. It is almost certain that lack of freedom for scientists will, within ten years or so, make the Russian war machine technically inefficient as compared with that of America. For such reasons, if war could be averted for a decade, it is quite likely that it would never take place.

We are thus brought to the stark opposition of strength in war as the decisive factor. I am no authority on war, and it is not for me to estimate military chances. But defeat or victory in a contest with Russia will depend upon many things besides armed force. Western Europe is much more hostile to communism than it was, chiefly owing to Marshall aid. China is lost to us, at least for the present, because we persisted too long in supporting Chiang Kai-shek. The policy of the present South African government is of enormous propaganda value to Moscow. Palestine presents an insoluble problem: if America and Britain favor the Jews, all the Arab states may become friendly to Moscow; if the Arabs, American Jews will vote against the Administration, and semi-isolationists will take its place in Washington; if strict impartiality is observed, each side will think the other unfairly favored, and both kinds of evils will result. Neither side seems capable of reflecting that in a war both sides in the Near East would be wiped out.

Program for Propaganda

I think a great deal more could be achieved by propaganda than is being achieved at present. The gradual russification of satellite nations should be emphasized, and so should the bad economic conditions of the workers under Soviet rule. Tito should be vigorously supported, and so should every beginning of a similar movement in Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Truman's Fourth Point should be implemented to the extreme of what is financially possible. Vigorous young intellectuals from doubtful regions—e g. the Near East —should be trained in England or America, as young communists are trained in Moscow. And much more should be done than is done at present to make clear positively what the West stands for, and what will be lost to mankind if Moscow triumphs. Money spent in these ways will be a hundred times as effective as an equal sum spent later on actual war.

Nevertheless, actual armaments will in the end decide, if war comes. I do not agree with those who object to the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb. All arguments for a unilateral limitation of weapons of war are only logically defensible if carried to the length of absolute pacifism, for a war cannot be worth fighting unless it is worth winning. I think also, for the reasons given above, that every increase of Western strength makes war less likely. I do not think that, in the present temper of the world, an agreement to limit atomic warfare would do anything but harm, because each side would think that the other was evading it.

The next war, if it comes, will be the greatest disaster that will have befallen the human race up to that moment. I can think of only one greater disaster: the extension of the Kremlin's power over the whole world. Fortunately the measures required to prevent the one are the same as the measures required to prevent the other; they are those that strengthen the forces on the side of human freedom. It is painful that there is such an inadequate realization of the urgency of the problem, and of the comparative unimportance of the enmities surviving from earlier times. I wish some supreme orator could rouse all western nations to realize their danger, and the pettiness of their disputes. Whatever we do, we shall be united, but it is better to be united in a common salvation than in a common death.

Don't miss in coming issues of UN World exclusive articles by:

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The Biggest Deal On Earth

By BENJAMIN JAVITS

A sensation was created by the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Senator Brien McMahon, when he proposed last month that the United States spend $50 billion in the next five years in a crusade for world peace. Under the McMahon plan all nations, *including Russia*, would benefit from this stupendous new program of international investment.

A book destined to be the working manual for all those who support the McMahon thesis has been written by Benjamin Javits, lawyer, and author of "The Commonwealth of Industry" and "Business and the Public Interest." It is entitled "Peace by Investment," and will be published this month as a United Nations World book, in conjunction with Funk and Wagnalls.

Mr. Javits' approach is even bolder than the Senator's. He proposes a $2,000 billion program for the next fifty years, spelling out by area and by agency what can be done to "buy the peace by investing in people."

The following article contains the highlights of the Javits plan, developed after many years of study and exploration and pondering, with the assistance of Charles Wilson, President of General Electric Company. In the light of present events, it may well be either the McMahon-Javits concept—or World War III.

We Americans emerged from World War II as the mightiest global power in the annals of mankind. Our two hundred and fifty leading industrial corporations alone outproduce the rest of the world in everything from girdles to girders. The dollar has become another word, an almost sacred word, for money in every language. However, unless we use this economic power to insure the peace, our planet may within a decade be dissolved into motes of atomic dust drifting through interstellar space, or most of its people may perish from the "three seconds to infect and three hours to kill" germs of a bacteriological warfare more dreadful than any conjured up by H. G. Wells.

To avoid this fate, the United States must enable other peoples to raise their living standards to ever-higher levels by applying inanimate or machine energy — and soon atomic energy—to turning out such goods as bread and steel. It must enable them to render such services as medical care and electric light.

To industrialize underdeveloped nations to a point where they can really benefit from the mid-twentieth century's forward sweep of science and invention will take roughly the investment of $1,000 per person for the world's three billion inhabitants over the next half century. This amounts to two trillion dollars, or forty billion a year during the next five decades.

Before gasping at the magnitude of this figure, it is germane to recall that the nations engaged in World War II spent two trillion in slaughter, over a six-year period.

The entire amount for any such gigantic program of credits would not have to be underwritten by the United States alone. Some of it, perhaps 1,000 billion dollars or, one trillion, could be concurrently supplied by potent members of the British Commonwealth such as Canada, while other portions could be supplied from indigenous capital in such debtor countries as France, once the initial extension of United States credits had started the ball rolling. Probably as much as a trillion dollars, or one half of the total needed, could be provided from such sources. The American share can with some predictability be estimated at one trillion dollars, at 20 billion a year, over a fifty-year period, or about *7 percent* of our national current income.

The question we have to ask ourselves is simply this: Is seven cents on a dollar too high an *investment* risk to abolish the plague of war from the conduct of human affairs? Somebody naturally has to take the first step in this direction, and the United States is the only nation today with the economic power and the political prestige to take that step.

Moreover, any such course will be neither alimony nor philanthropy but good business—good business in the sense that substantial, continuing return on venture capital, on investment, is good business. The profits in monetary terms can be breathtaking; the profits in moral terms are beyond measurement. Certainly if our system of free enterprise is to flourish, if it is even to survive, it must obey its own basic mandates and expand markets constantly, at home and abroad, by matching mass production with mass purchasing power to achieve an ever-greater mass consumption.

Faced with the immensity of world recovery and reconstruction needs, some people throw up their hands and say, "It's impossible. Where is the money coming from?" At the risk of polluting their innocence, it should be pointed out that the money is coming from the place it has always come from—the savings and earnings, actual and potential, of the American people. In 1948, the American people had 25 billion dollars in gold, 155 billion in cash in the banks, and the world's greatest wealth-producing machine. In 1939, few would have believed that we Americans could raise and spend 341 billion in four wartime years. But we did exactly that and in the process put ten million unemployed back to work—revitalized and enlarged our industrial plant, and came out richer than ever before. Under a similiar martial impetus, we could do the job all over again, for we would have faith in our ability both to wage and to win war.

It is up to the US as the only alternative toward chaos and the probable extinction of the human race to invest and invest again in the natural resources, in the human skills, and in the strivings toward a free man's freedom among other peoples. On a scale and at a rate hitherto almost beyond imagination, we must provide money, machinery, and engineering and managerial talents from Philadelphia to Paris, from Chicago to Calcutta, from New York to Nanking. We have to export not only the T-square, the welder's torch, and tractors but also the techniques for using them. For only when we foster industrial development on this massive scale can we raise living standards both at home and abroad. The typical European peasant harvesting with a cradle can produce 100 bushels of bread grain from a year's work. One man harvesting with a combine on an average family-sized wheat farm on the Great Plains of North America can produce 2,000 bushels from a year's work.

This means that we must consciously and responsibly set out to supply the leadership and the loans for

New York

TWO TRILLION dollars would clothe and feed the Hindus below, put packages under their arms, and spread some of the bounties of Fifth Avenue at Forty-second Street.

Delhi

The Biggest Deal on Earth *continued*

the world's economic rehabilitation, recovery and regeneration.

How can this job be done? By acting in concert with other countries and particularly by drawing upon the facilities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the fields of finance, economic research and analysis, health and agriculture; by enlarging the functions and reserve funds of the World Bank, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and similar agencies; and by fostering a climate abroad which would encourage American business to underwrite new foreign ventures with confidence that management could expect a reasonable profit from such investments.

Where should this job be done? First of all, in such key industrial nations as the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, and then in such underdeveloped nations as India and Brazil and other radial centers for the expansion of farm and factory production and of world trade. As production and trade in these areas increases, the net effect will be to transform other nations into similar focal points.

When should this job be done? The time to begin is now, but the task will last for fifty years or longer.

Who should start this job? The United States as the nation with most of the credit and most of the industrial and technical know-how.

Where then will the money come from in practice? And for what purposes will it be used? And what safeguards could protect US capital devoted to such goals? The following nine-point program answers these questions:

1 The money should come from private American financial and industrial corporations (with the aid where necessary of the United States Treasury), the World Bank and Fund, the Export-Import Bank, or through a World Reconstruction Authority perhaps to be managed by the UN.

2 Funds should be used to build and enlarge the productive capacity of the borrowing nation.

3 Outlays should be supervised by civilians working under the appropriate government authorities, national and international.

4 Judicial rights of quick and sure justice in the courts of the borrowing nation in cases where disputes arise should be guaranteed.

5 Free entrance and exit of representatives of investing firms and organizations, private and public, to and from the borrowing nation should be assured.

6 Freedom of speech for such representatives in the press and over the radio of the borrowing nation should likewise be assured.

7 Interest charges should be minimal, amortization rates low, and profits reasonable.

8 All credits should be granted to accord with government fiscal policy in the borrowing nation to insure the intrinsic safety of such investments.

9 All investment principles must harmonize with the aims of Point IV and the technical assistance program of the United Nations.

A Case History: France

On the basis of our working program, which has as its norm a credit of $1,000 per inhabitant, France, for example, with its population of 40,000,000, should within the next fifty years receive credits of $40 billion.

In miniature, a precedent for this kind of lending to France already exists, in the form of $250,000,000 loaned by the World Bank on the ground that a loan of this character met the tests of "being for the reconstruction of the normal economy" and for "useful and urgent projects" which went with "reasonable prospects of payment." Still another kind of economic aid has been extended to France under the Marshall Plan totalling close to $2 billion from its inception to June 30, 1950. France really requires $3.5 to $4 billion dollars as an annual minimum at least until 1953. But neither World Bank loans nor Marshall Plan aids, nor even the new infusion of capital under France's own Monnet Plan, will suffice to restore France to the position of economic strength and stability she should and must occupy in the Western World.

Contrarily, the adoption of the kind of program here set forth would enable France to resume her old role as a pivot in the Western European economy and as a fountainhead of democracy, and to play her new role as a bulwark of the Atlantic community.

If credits are thus put to work constructively, under qualified supervision both financial and technical, we can expect ready access to sources of raw materials, replenishment of our depleted national resources, and a halt to the spread of socialization and nationalization. Moreover, our own economy will be given a tremendous new lift. It will not only receive multimillion dollar interest payments on funds invested; it will also benefit by a stupendous increase in a multiple and multiplying foreign trade.

It is at this juncture impossible to forecast precisely how many American cars, tractors, refrigerators, typewriters, plumbing fixtures, and other items the borrowing nations can absorb once these credits are released. However, according to a conservative estimate prepared by the United States State Department, if we expand our volume of export by ten billion dollars, either in money or goods, it will mean five million additional jobs for American workers. Five million jobs are insurance against any possible future depression. While there is not an exact correlation between the size of money exports and employment, it can be safely assumed that an extension of twenty billion dollars of credits a year would guarantee jobs for at least seven and a half million Americans. Hence, these credits would insure our own prosperity for at least fifty years and more likely for a hundred.

Ersatz Fuehrer: Alfred Loritz

A Bavarian adventurer has begun a noisy career copying the theatrical pattern created by Adolf Hitler. Will he become the same menace to the world as his predecessor in the Beerhalls of Munich? Or are there more subtle forces working at the revival of aggressive German nationalism?

By LEO LANIA

THE November evening was cool and foggy. In spite of the late hour, Munich's Bayernstrasse was still wide awake. Covered by the velvet curtain of darkness, the ruins and heaps of rubble had disappeared as if by magic. A few elderly men were walking their dogs, some women gossiped at the street corner. The air was filled with the chatter and laughter of young couples returning from the movies or a beer garden. It seemed like old times.

It was November 19, 1948.

The clock of a nearby church struck the eleventh hour. At the last stroke, a young couple turned into the street and walked swiftly toward its end. The man was in the late twenties, a white-collar worker, to judge by his suit and appearance, the girl of striking beauty and expensively dressed. They walked in silence, somewhat furtively. When they reached the end of the street they both turned nervously to make sure they were not being followed. There was no one behind them except a pair of lovers, who had also stopped and, falling into each other's arms, dissolved in a passionate kiss.

Reassured, the young man gave the

Ersatz Fuehrer: Alfred Loritz *continued*

girl a nod and started to whistle a popular song.

At this moment, a tall man, grim, gaunt and sloppily dressed, stepped out of the shadows and approached them at a slow, shuffling gait.

The three shook hands. Before they could exchange the first words of greeting, the pair of lovers approached arm-in-arm. The three stepped aside to let them pass. In the next second, the lovers broke away from each other and it was the tall gaunt man who found himself locked suddenly in a tight embrace.

Out of a Thriller

"Police! You are Alfred Loritz! You are under arrest!" the "lover" shouted. His girl companion blew a whistle. Three more pairs of "lovers" came running up. A police car, sirens screaming, appeared out of the night.

"Congratulations, officer," Loritz said, entering the car. "I guess you will get a medal for this catch."

This little melodrama was only the latest in a life which has been all melodrama. For Alfred Loritz is certainly the most equivocal figure in Germany today. He may indeed contain in his own person the essential clue to the future of Germany.

He was a leader of an anti-Nazi group in the late thirties and he himself claims to have organized the first attempt on Hitler's life, in 1939. He was actually a spy against Germany during the war, as the records of Allied intelligence services show. He is at present a deputy in the Bonn parliament and was for a time Minister for Denazification in the Bavarian government. By his followers, during the protracted police chase, he was called "Alfred the Undiscoverable." But by the evolution of events and his own character, he is now described by Bavarian newspapers as "the blond Hitler."

Alfred inevitably reminds one of Adolf in more ways than the initial of his given name.

He was born in Munich in 1902. His father was a *Regierungspraesident* (Provincial Governor) of Upper Bavaria. A devout Catholic and monarchist, old Loritz encountered Hitler's wrath when in 1923, at the time of the Fuehrer's abortive *putsch*, he joined the ranks of Prime Minister Kahr in the fight against the "damned Prussian Nazis."

When Hitler came to power Alfred Loritz had just embarked upon a law career. He was a member of the *Wirtschaftspartei* (Economic party), a right-wing organization with strong monarchistic sympathies. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Loritz house was one of the first to be visited by the SA. But the Economic party, which advocated a sort of technocracy, had only a small following and little influence. To the Nazis young Loritz was entirely unimportant. They left him alone. Still there were occasional investigations in the next four years. Five times he was grilled by the Gestapo. Finally Loritz gave up his law practice and went underground. Under various aliases he established contacts with other anti-Nazi resistance groups.

In the summer of 1939, just before the outbreak of the war, the Hitler police discovered a resistance cell in Munich. A few men were arrested and subjected to the usual treatment in the cellars of the Gestapo. One of the men finally cracked and confessed. He reported that the group was under the leadership of a mysterious Dr. Ludwig who supplied them with money and weapons and kept them informed about world events as broadcast by BBC.

Thus, the hunt for Dr. Ludwig was on.

In August three more members of this group were caught, two Catholic priests and a civilian by the name of Lederer. The latter and one of the priests succeeded in escaping. The second priest was terribly tortured but he remained silent until he was sure that his two friends had had time to cross the border into Switzerland. Then he spoke up and the Nazis discovered that the fugitive Lederer and the eagerly sought leader of the organization, Dr. Ludwig, were the same person and identical with Dr.

REMINDER of another agitator who started his career in the Beerhalls of Munich: the ruins of the Hall in Berchtesgaden where Hitler once received kings and ambassadors.

Alfred Loritz. He was condemned to death in absentia.

He was never again caught.

During the war years Loritz played an important part in the espionage network of the Allies. How important it was is difficult to ascertain, given the professional reticence of intelligence services. Loritz, of course, looks upon himself as a kind of Superman. If one wants to believe him, he traveled constantly between Switzerland and Germany, swam the Rhine more than once, crossed the Alps in blinding snow storms, smuggled weapons and money to the resistance groups in Germany and supplied the Allies with priceless military information. In November 1939, he organized—always according to his unsupported statement—the first attempt on Hitler's life by placing a bomb in the *Brauhaus-Keller* where the Fuehrer was scheduled to address a victory celebration of his old comrades. The bomb exploded a few minutes after Hitler had left the cellar.

After the defeat of Germany Alfred Loritz returned to Munich. He had ambition and a good deal of money (supposedly the savings from his war chest to which the Allies had contributed in recognition of his work). Thereupon Alfred Loritz formed a new party. It was called WAV (Union for Economic Reconstruction). Similar to Signor Giannini's postwar "common man movement" in Italy the WAV had one paramount idea: All parties are equally bad. Thus, thousands flocked to his party as an escape from parties.

The Secret of a Success

In Italy, however, after two short years common sense triumphed over the "common man movement" and Signor Giannini is today a power of yesterday. Alfred Loritz's influence and power on the other hand grew steadily. To a large extent this success may be due to the fact that from the very beginning he copied carefully every move Hitler had made and used every weapon from the former Fuehrer's arsenal.

He started his movement in 1945 at the *Circus Krone* exactly at the spot where twenty-five years earlier an unknown rabble-rouser presented the Nazi program to Munich's frustrated and impoverished lower middle class. He began with a vicious attack upon all politicians and parties —"parties of failure" he called them —exactly as Hitler did. He declared that "the system of representative democracy doesn't and can't work in Germany" and demanded that all governmental jobs should be held by trained "non-political" experts and that all legislation should be passed upon by plebiscite.

This latter point was his personal contribution to an otherwise very vague program that promised everyone everything he wanted. To the middle class and industrialists he promised greater production, more efficiency and unions free from politics. To the worker he offered a single strong union (one remembers Hitler's government-controlled labor front) and drastic curbs of bureaucrats' rations and salaries. To the refugees from the eastern territories, he called for the conquest of the lost provinces.

Much of this recalls the early days of Hitler but there are still further similarities. Loritz leads an austere life, doesn't drink or smoke and is a convinced bachelor.

Fred M. Hechinger described a few months ago a visit to Loritz's headquarters:

"Without wasting a moment on polite chit-chat, Loritz launched into a half-hour presentation of his program. He seemed to forget that he was talking to but a single visitor. Although occasionally he returned to a conversational tone, Loritz for the most part pitched his voice at meeting hall volume. Sweeping and pounding gestures drove home every sentence. The sharp lines of his mobile face became deeper and the steel-grey eyes under great bushy brows reflected a fanatical idealism as he preached his pet subject."

He runs his party with an iron hand. Anyone who dares to disagree with him is branded as a traitor and expelled. He is highstrung to the point of hysteria, ill-mannered and erratic. He affects a shaggy haircut and a grim seriousness. His features have a sinister suggestion that inspired an American correspondent to describe him as "a cross between Boris Karloff and Peter Lorre." But that only adds to his attraction as far as his public is concerned. His meetings are usually packed to the rafters.

He gained his first victory at the state election of 1946. The WAV won 250,000 votes and sent thirteen deputies to the Bavarian parliament. A few weeks later Prime Minister Dr. Hans Erhard invited Loritz to join the Bavarian provisional government. Loritz became Minister for Denazification.

Avoiding a Trap

If his opponents thought that they could prepare his doom by offering Loritz this very unpopular position which had already ruined the reputations of his two immediate predecessors, they were mistaken. He started out as a "great avenger." "Death to the big shots," he shouted and ordered the arrest of the wives and widows of the few top Nazi war criminals. At the same time he became the self-styled protector of the "little Nazis," who represented millions of votes. He ridiculed as cowards the former inmates of concentration camps—Jews, Socialists and democrats, and declared that most of them had been imprisoned not for political but for criminal offenses.

From the very first day as Minister he started to organize his own police force, the KD (Control Service) ostensibly recruited to supervise internment camps for Nazis and patterned after Himmler's notorious SD (Secret Police). Through bribes and blackmail, rifling the desks of Cabinet colleagues, and stealing private and public papers, he carefully compiled dossiers implicating the top Bavarian politicians in various unsavory deals.

When he felt himself strong enough, he carried his attacks further. He tangled with the Military Government which had until then given him all the breaks. Was the man not a genuine anti-Nazi! The Allied military authorities had at first put their trust in the German rightists. The French especially catered to the monarchists whom they saw as de-

Ersatz Fuehrer: Alfred Loritz *continued*

fenders of Bavarian "federalism," not realizing that this kind of federalism was nothing but an attempt to transform Bavaria into a fortress of reaction and neo-fascism.

The awakening came when Alfred Loritz opened an attack against General Walter Muller, then American Military Governor of Bavaria, and was carried so far as to call the general "a liar."

The Evidence

The counter blow fell immediately. Kurt Meissner, Loritz's long-time aide, left the party and turned over to the authorities a voluminous dossier on his former boss, describing in detail the methods the latter had used to raise money for the party. Loritz was shown to be one of the top-ranking black marketeers in postwar Germany. Other documents purported to prove that he had incited officials in his ministry to commit perjury in order to cover up his unlawful activities.

Faced with criminal proceedings, Loritz flew to Berlin to gain the support of General Clay. Clay refused to see him. After his return to Munich, Loritz was arrested and jailed in the prison of Stadelheim.

His enemies crowed. If the denazification job had failed to break him, a few years in jail might.

But once more Loritz confounded these optimists.

He started a hunger strike on the ground that he thought there was a plot to poison him. He had to be transferred to a private hospital, the Carolinum in Munich, where he was kept under constant guard.

But one day the policeman on duty got a terrible toothache and went off to see a dentist. "Loritz won't run away," he assured himself.

When the policeman returned, the patient in room 23 had disappeared.

The search for the fugitive became one of the most grotesque political comedies of modern times, ranking with the Sicilian chase of Giuliano. The undiscoverable Alfred continued to run his party as before, deluged the press with letters and manifestos, gave interviews and advertised regularly his frequent visits to Munich. The opposition launched a full-fledged attack against the Minister of Justice implying that the authorities did not want to put Loritz on trial because they were afraid his confession might implicate them as accomplices. The Minister of Justice put all the blame on the Minister of the Interior, who in turn declared the Chief of Police responsible.

A few weeks later at exactly 11 pm on the Bayernstrasse, Loritz was arrested when two of his most trusted followers unwittingly led the police to him.

The trial, however, was devoid of any of the anticipated sensational disclosures. It lasted six days. Loritz was sentenced to three months in prison for his escape but the Court decided that he had already served this time in the Stadelheim jail. The accusation of incitement to perjury was dropped. He was convicted of black marketeering, especially in gasoline, but because of a new law which had been passed in the meantime, he could not be punished for this crime. He left the courtroom a free man.

Triumph in Bavaria

That was in the early days of December 1948. Eight months later, Western Germany went to the polls to elect the first parliament of the new western German state. Loritz's party polled 681,000 votes and elected twelve deputies. In Bavaria the WAV emerged as the third strongest party with 14.4% of all votes cast.

Loritz is marching on.

He is already a vividly recognizable figure in the cast of characters who will make the next Germany. We cannot read his part in the future; but we can rough in his potentialities.

A second Hitler Alfred Loritz will not be, if for no other reason than that history does not repeat itself exactly. One Hitler was enough to convince a good many Germans that that solution is not worth trying again in just that form.

If Loritz's ambition were to remain forever an ersatz Hitler, he would not represent a real danger. Doubtless, he also realizes that a second obstacle to his progress is the Protestant resentment toward Catholic domination of the West German government. The Protestant leader, Martin Niemoeller, said recently, in remarkably strong language, "The Western German Republic is a child conceived in the Vatican and born in Washington . . . Lutheranism has suffered its gravest defeat in a century." Protesting the loss of Protestant East Germany to the Russians, he declared that Germany would accept Communism in preference to a divided Germany.

Although a Catholic himself, Loritz may overcome this handicap, as well as that of his erratic and irresponsible past by offering his services to the probable masters of tomorrow's Reich.

The Menace

The real power, the money and the respectability in Germany are in the hands today of the generals, the bankers and industrialists, and these are dreaming of an alliance with Russia. They are heard to say more and more often that Hitler's main, and perhaps only, error was his anti-bolshevism.

By himself Loritz might be meaningless, but he has shown talents that may qualify him as a "front man" for the really dangerous forces in Germany. He has daring, unscrupulousness and a dynamic and enigmatic personality.

Germany's masterminds will doubtless profit from their mistake with Hitler and this time keep the strings firmly in their own hands. If Loritz presently drops his Hitler accent and begins to speak the language of the "realists" who look toward the East, one should not be surprised. As a standard-bearer for the disciples of Bismarck, he may go far if he knows how to ride the waves of the future's frustration and misery. The waves are mounting and Loritz has already shown that he can swim through anything in any weather.

Asia Reconquers Asia

The historic significance of events in the Far East since the war adds up to this: Asia has dropped the white man's burden, including the Russian.

By OWEN LATTIMORE

PROFESSOR OWEN LATTIMORE, one of the foremost American experts on Far Eastern Affairs, is Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University. Author of numerous books, he has done research and field work in China, Mongolia and Manchuria. He was Political Advisor to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek; Deputy Director of Pacific Operations, Office of War Information; and Member, US Reparations Commission to Japan. This article is based upon a lecture in the Edward Corbin Jenkins lectureship at George Williams College in Chicago.

turn page

Asia Reconquers Asia

IT IS CLEAR that the change of power in China cannot properly be described as primarily a victory either of Communist armies or of Communist ideas. The chief phenomenon has been the moral and political bankruptcy of the National Government of China, whose "ability" to collapse greatly exceeded the ability of the Communists to push it over.

It is also clear that Russian intervention, in the way of supplying either munitions or political and military advisors, was insignificant. The importance of this relative absence of Russian intervention in China has been overlooked partly because of the human tendency toward wishful thinking.

The American policy in China cost a great deal. It is somehow more comforting to provide an alibi by claiming that the American intervention failed because of a stronger Russian intervention than to confess that the effort failed of its own ineptness. Yet the truth is that if there had been more Russian intervention in China, we should at least have had intelligence information of a very important kind. A Chinese Communist victory made possible only by Russian intervention would at least have given us a yardstick for measuring both the strength of the Chinese Communists and the strength of Soviet Russia in Asia. We should then have been able to determine how much of the change that took place was due to the difference between a Russian kind of intervention and an American kind.

As it is, we do not even have a measuring stick for assessing what kind of strength Russia has in the Far East or how much of it there may be. Whatever the Russian strength, it remains behind the Russian frontier—undeployed, unexposed, a card unplayed. What we do know, therefore, comes down simply to the fact that there has been so colossal an upheaval within China, in Chinese terms, without benefit of Russian intervention, that we can no longer analyze the China of today by use of the concepts which were adequate for analyzing the China of the Boxer Rebellion just half a century ago. This change has been so great that it could not be prevented by an American intervention measurable in money—so far as such things can be measured in money values—by an expenditure of some three billion American dollars.

The shift of power which took place in spite of a formidable American intervention and in the absence of any ponderable Russian intervention means that China for the first time for a hundred years is beyond the control of the most powerful of the Western nations. There are a number of reasons for believing that the power of control by intervention which has fallen from the hands of the West has not passed into the hands of Soviet Russia. It may well be that Russia also will not be able to "move in on" China and take over control within China.

This possibility raises one more problem in the revision of concepts. Our habitual thinking about China, as about the rest of Asia, is in terms of areas and peoples that are normally controlled "on" the inside, "from" the outside. This concept is usually expressed in some such phrase as: "if we aren't controlling them, the Russians must be." The run of the evidence, however, is that something much bigger has taken place: namely, *the rise of an Asia which cannot be controlled either from the West or from Soviet Russia.*

This change, so massive in China, is part of a general process of change that applies also to the rest of Asia. The status of Japan is an important part of the process. One idea that has been widely advocated—probably because our changes in thinking have not yet caught up with the changing reality—is that Japan should be made the main base for the operations of American policy in Asia. The truth is that we have reached the line of diminishing returns in Japan. In the first years after Japan's surrender not only General MacArthur but the policy planners in Washington did a competent job. The job was done, however, against the background of a warning by General MacArthur himself that a military occupation which continues for more than three years begins to defeat its own objectives. We have long passed the three-year limit.

The idea that Japan can be made an American-controlled "workshop of Asia," and, by virtue of being a workshop, control the rest of Asia is an illusion. Japan, unlike Germany, is a workshop without raw materials. Germany has its own iron and coal, and is one of the leading nations in the world in the production of synthetic oil. Japan does not have comparable resources, either in raw materials or in technology. Japan can maintain its population only in one or the other of two ways. Either it must be supported by an American dole—which, however cogent the political and strategic arguments in favor of it may be, is fundamentally uneconomic—or it must negotiate for the raw materials it needs on terms that are acceptable to the suppliers of the raw materials in Asia.

At the present time Japan is costing the United States something like half a billion dollars a year in subsidies that are utterly different in function from Marshall Plan aid to Europe. The underlying concept of

Marshall Plan aid in Europe is that there exists enough in Europe so that, with a definite application of American aid for a limited period of years, Europe can be set on its feet and can go forward again on its own.

That concept does not apply to Japan, principally because Japan does not produce its own raw materials. If they are furnished by the United States, the cost of the raw materials must be calculated at the high American standard of living; but they must be processed in Japan and sold to markets in Asia on the low standards of living in Asia. Economically, such a policy is an absurdity. If it is carried out, a subsidy at the rate of half a billion dollars a year could go on for ten or twenty years without changing the situation. No ameliorative change can be induced by this kind of expenditure. "A dole is a dole is a dole," to transpose Gertrude Stein into economic phraseology.

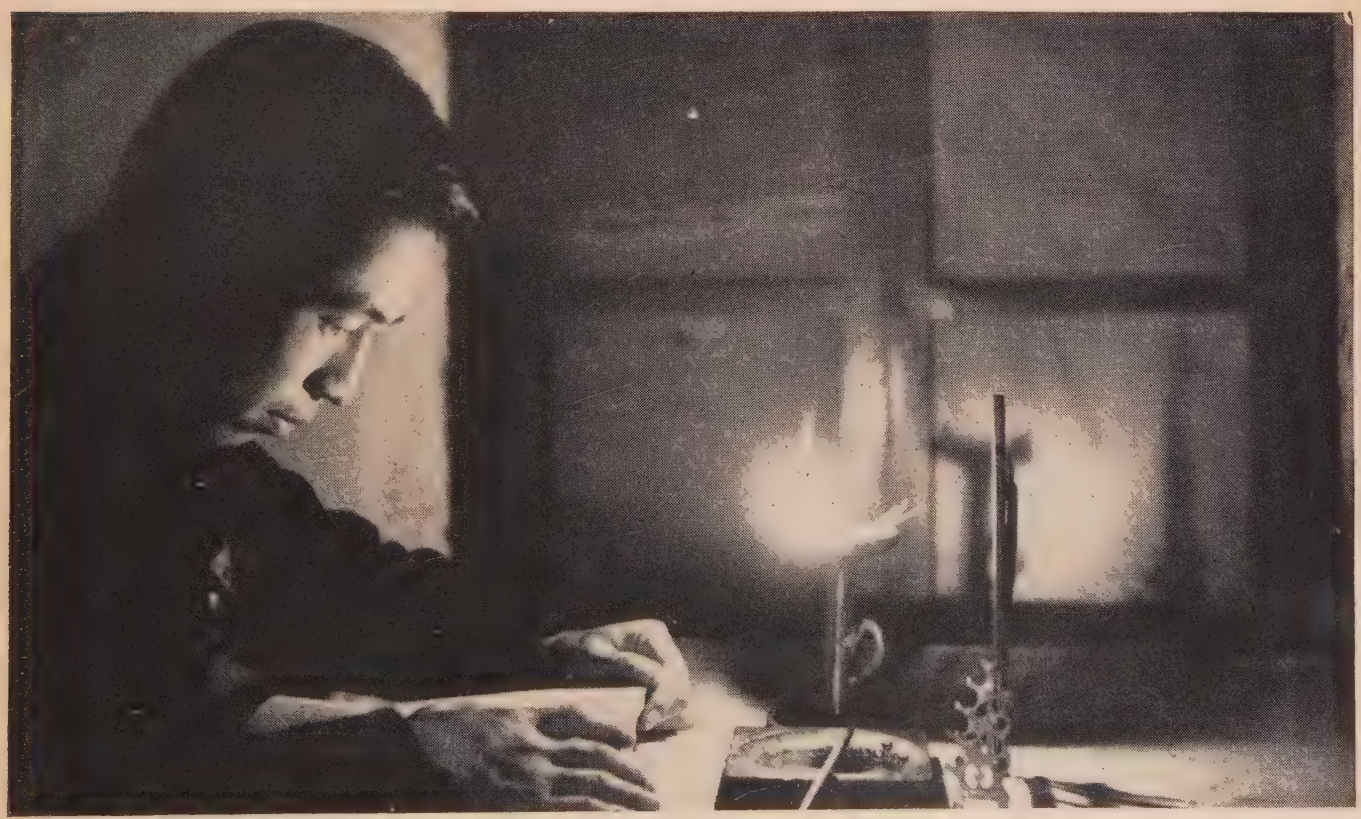
If, on the other hand, Japan takes the other alternative and negotiates with Asia for its supplies of raw materials in order to manufacture things that Asia needs, functioning as a workshop to supply processed goods to Asia, it cannot do so as a great imperial power, as it once was. Formerly Japan had strategic control of the key areas that it occupied. Now Japan can negotiate only on terms that are acceptable to other peoples in Asia because those peoples see benefits in it for themselves. The option of rebuilding the power of Japan no longer lies with Japan.

The most stupid possible attitude toward the ordinary Japanese, therefore, is to assume that he will be a loyal instrument of American policy. A decent, self-respecting, loyal Japanese can make the best of Japan's position only by playing all ends against the middle. He must play interests of every kind against the American interest, as well as play the American interest against that of Russia, China, and the rest of Asia. If his loyalty is to his own country, he must maneuver to escape control of his country by either America or Russia.

To sum up: We face a change in the distribution of power, which means that Europe will never regain its old power over Asia and will probably lose most of what power it still has. Experience in China is a warning that very little of Europe's former power over Asia has passed into the hands of the United States. Other evidence indicates that Russia's ability to pick up and exercise power over Asia is probably also very much limited.

There is yet another consideration to be weighed. The slipping away of power over Asia has not been matched by a rise of power in Asia sufficient to make Asia able to act in careless disregard of the interest of Europe, America, and Russia. Asia as a whole does not yet have even full control over itself.

China, though already strong enough to resist foreign intervention, is not yet, and will not be for decades, in position to carry on its own industrialization without regard to supplies from other countries. They do not have the resources with which to do it. They can get the supplies they need only on terms that are satisfactory to other countries as well as to



IN PISHAN, A CHINESE STUDENT BURNS THE MIDNIGHT OIL PREPARING FOR THE DAWN OF THE ELECTRIC AGE

Asia Reconquers Asia *continued*

China. Similar considerations apply in India.

In other words, the power of Asia, even in Asia, is also limited. Despite the growing political independence of colonial Asia, which is likely to be consummated before long by increasing institutions of independence, Europe and Asia remain in essential respects interdependent. The interdependence that is no longer organized under institutions of imperial rule will have to be organized under new institutions evolved for the purpose, and these new institutions will have to be based on a three-way adjustment.

A New Relationship Among Three Continents

Europe must bow to the priority of its own economic need for what it draws from Asia. Asia places a high political priority on independence. The interests of the United States lie both in Europe and Asia. A three-way adjustment must therefore be carried out, under conditions which prevent any of the nations principally concerned from enforcing its will on either of the other two principally involved groups. We must therefore recognize an underlying, continuing pressure in favor of an adjustment by compromise, based on the willingness of all concerned to make sacrifices in return for benefits which each regards as more important than the sacrifices and therefore worth the sacrifices.

It is only in this context that we can think realistically of the "defense of democracy" that is often advocated as an American policy in Asia. If democracy does not exist in Asia, how is it to be defended? Is it to be invented? Is it to be bestowed on Asia, in order to have something to defend? All the history of democracy indicates that democracy cannot be successfully conferred on others. It has to grow out of living interests. It is something that has to be asserted by those whose interests are involved.

What can be done is to promote in Asia issues which lead to the evaluation of democracy in Asia by the peoples of Asia. The approach toward a future democracy is something that can be promoted and defended, but this involves a question of concept that goes very deep. We must distinguish between a static idea of defense which is eventually not the defense of democracy, but defense against the spread of Communist thinking and Russian power, and another totally different and difficult dynamic concept, namely, the creating of the conditions within which democracy can be evolved by the peoples concerned.

Some very valuable light has been thrown on this question of concept, attitude, and approach by Prime Minister Nehru, during his visit to the United States. Why should he have insisted repeatedly that India cannot simply choose between lining up with the United States and its allies or with Russia and its satellites? Why did he repeatedly refer to the remaining vestiges of imperial rule in Asia and emphasize the fact that such peoples as the Indonesians and the Annamese of Indo-China must become independent? Why did he emphasize the political importance of discrimination on grounds of race, color, or creed?

The Present Must Be Exorcised

The answers to these questions have a great deal to do with the problem of creating the conditions within which democracy can arise. From Asia's point of view the future menace of Communism is hypothetical. Actual infringements on the freedom of the human individual in Asia must be attributed principally to what remains of the imperialism of the old order. The political loyalties and aspirations of the people in Asia cannot be mobilized against a Communist danger of the future unless they are first assured of emancipation from the inequities of the present.

Not only from India's point of view but from the point of view of China, of Japan, and of all Asia, the American approach that should be emphasized is not the subordination of peoples in Asia to the defense of American interests, but the linking together of the interests of Asia and America in such a manner that a truly common cause can be constructed.

The resources of American educational institutions at the present time are not adequate to the kind of training needed for the number of people required to deal with these problems. Every department of the government concerned with such questions is short-handed and cannot recruit fast enough the people that it desperately needs. To get the kind of education demanded and to get it rapidly enough, we must turn away from the 19th century assumption that what was principally needed was the export of American education to less favored peoples abroad. We must turn the other way and think in terms of educating Americans in an understanding of the needs, the social structures, the social outlooks, the political orientation of other peoples.

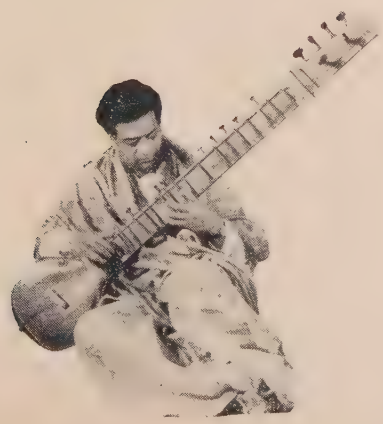
There can be no enduring cooperation with other peoples except by an adjustment, which must be mutual, between what they need and what the United States wants. This adjustment cannot be achieved simply by the conversion of others to our way of thinking. There must be at least a minimum willingness on our part to study and understand why others, whose lives are different from ours, think as they do.

Only on the basis of a willingness to educate ourselves in two-way understanding can we win the assent of others to cooperative policies which, while promoting our interests, also grant equality to theirs.

The god Nataraja, after creating the world, danced the first dance in joy, say the Indians. Today the incomparable Ram Gopal carries to new heights this ancient art, quintessence of Indian civilization.

Myth in Motion

By AYANA DEVA ANGADI



THE EMERGENCE of India as an independent republic and as a leading nation in the Orient will not only mean setting up extensive political and economic relations with the rest of the world, but will also lead to an unprecedented give-and-take in the field of culture. Inside that vast subcontinent a fresh momentum has already been given to the renaissance that began about four decades ago.

Of all the cultural heritages of India, none is more distinctively "Indian" than its classical music and dancing, which have largely remained completely untouched and unaffected by Western influences.

RAM GOPAL, probably the outstanding dancer of India, specializes in recreating authentic early dances. Many of these he has revived by studying the sculpture of ancient temples. AT LEFT the tense attitude and expression dramatizes the Cobra Devil Dance.

ABOVE winged Ram Gopal is executing the old Dance of the Setting Sun. BELOW the artist demonstrates the Bharat Natyam, the classical Temple Dance technique of South India. In these pantomimes the story is told to us by a sequence of rhythmic gestures.

Myth in Motion *continued*

DIFFERENT parts of India have produced dances with special techniques of their own. The god Nataraja, after creating the world, is said to have danced the first dance of the Universe. So special invocatory dances, and many others, are dedicated to him. In the second century B.C., the sage Bharata codified in his *Natya Shastra* (Science of Dancing) all the laws of Indian dancing, which aesthetically regulate the coordinated movement of every limb. These laws in their essential form have been handed down from generation to generation.

How elaborate and stylized is the *Natya Shastra* can be seen by the complicated rules it has laid down. There are six movements each of the lower lip, the cheek and the chin, nine actions each of the neck and the eyeballs, thirty-six movements of the eyes, seven of the eyebrows and thirteen of the head. In addition, there are over sixty *mudras* or finger gestures alone, which, together with their many more combinations constitute a veritable language of their own. There is a separate *mudra* to express, for example, Bee, Fish, House, Conch Shell, Friendship or Enmity. The dancers use *mudras* to convey a sentiment or to make a statement. The whole elaborate technique is designed to express the nine *Rasas* or sentiments such as *Stringar* (Love), *Hasya* (Laughter), *Raudra* (Anger), *Vira* (Heroism), and *Karuna* (Compassion). The aim of the dance, as of all Indian art, is to achieve *moksha*, or liberation, and detachment through conquest of desire.

The principal types of Indian dances include the *Bharat Natyam*, which is still preserved in the temples of Tanjore (South India), and the *Kathakali* or "story play" of Malabar in South India, in which masks and heavy make-up, and bizarre costumes, are worn by most of the characters. As this type of dance requires great strength and agility it is a masculine dance, female roles being played by men themselves. There are several dances in this technique. The *Kathakali* form was finally evolved in the 18th century. In North India there is the *Kathak* dance, which like Hindustani music, is a synthetic product of the Hindu and Moslem influences. Its chief features include quicker footwork, rapid gyration of the body, reminding one of the *fouetté*, and less use of the *mudras*.

Westerners have much to gain from a study of Indian cultures, and especially from the dance, incorporating as it does the sister arts of painting and music. Now that the true India has at last emerged, it is more than ever anxious that its historic and hitherto partially hidden glories should be revealed to the Western world. Consequently, the Government of India has set up three new Academies for the teaching of Indian dance, drama and music. Perhaps one day by this means, the twain shall at last meet.

This is the first of a series of exclusive articles on day-by-day living habits, business and working problems of the average citizen of the Soviet and of the People's Democracies.

The Inspector General of Gogol, like the make-believe villages of Potemkin, recurs perpetually in Russian history. Behind both are traits of national character which stubbornly persist whether the country is run by Czars or by Communists. Today's Soviet plant manager fears the axe of the Inspector from Moscow as much as did his Excellency the Czarist bureaucrat.

Manager Ivan Ivanov On The Production Trapeze

BIG BUSINESS IN THE USSR: MANAGER

By ELLSWORTH RAYMOND

Assistant Professor of Soviet Government N.Y.U.; former Research Analyst, US Embassy, Moscow

COMRADE Ivan Ivanov, Director of the Red Dawn Metal Working plant, in the town of Petrogorsk in the East Urals, goes quickly down the steps of his two-story wooden home, hugging his briefcase, his badge of office, and hurries into the back of the waiting automobile. The time is 7:45 AM and the sun has barely penetrated the cold fog-like grayness of a 50 below zero winter day. With a majestic clash of gears, the chauffeur sends the car lurching along the icy ruts of the road leading to the factory, and Ivanov sits back tensely on the cushions immersed in his thoughts. His thinking is not occupied with world affairs since he is much too busy and harried trying to keep his factory up to the mark. Unlike the rest of his employees, he works a ten-hour, an eleven-hour, even a twelve-hour day and upon occasion virtually lives at his desk.

He is by instinct a patriot and thus supports the foreign policy of the government which has given him his preferment. He is shrewd and knows far more than the average Soviet citizen because his experience and training have endowed him with more knowledge of the inner workings of the USSR and have enabled him to read between the lines—at least to a partial extent—of the Soviet press. While interested in foreign affairs, he tends to feel that his own political knowledge is merely that of a bystander. He tends to fear war with the US because as a result of Lend-Lease, he has seen enough

American equipment, notably in the form of machine tools. He learns about USSR relations with the US as well as about other foreign affairs from the local newspaper (which has a very spotty and inadequate coverage), from *Pravda* which arrives from Moscow a day late, from the lectures by visiting party propagandists which he is compelled to attend, from the Voice of America, to which he listens secretly from time to time.

As one of the privileges of his position, he has a good Soviet-made radio with both long and short wave bands. He is very pleased with his radio as a sign of pre-eminence just as he is pleased with his car and his house, his electric refrigerator, his well-joined furniture. He realizes that all these constitute sumptuous—if not sybaritic living in the USSR. Since his tastes have been formed in accord with Soviet standards and fashions on the whole, he expects very little more from the material aspects of life than he already has. He is not at all informed about what would be called really high standards of living abroad.

The virtue and value of culture has been implanted in his mind by the Soviet educational system. Much of the little spare time he has is devoted to reading or to attendance at the local concerts and theatricals and out-of-date movies. Perhaps Ivanov's greatest grievance—as it is certainly that of his wife—is that he is stuck away in this tiny industrial town in the Urals where the stores display only the bare essentials and where life is very dull. He would like to transfer to Moscow which, as the metropolis, contains stores offering many refinements of life unobtainable in Petrogorsk and where he could go to first-rate theatres and concerts and restaurants. Both he and his wife have heard vaguely about the satellite consumer goods on sale in Moscow and they would like to be able to sample them. They would particularly like to be able to buy some of life's trivia—the more frivolous items of costume jewelry, cosmetics, fountain pens that don't leak, watches that keep time.

But this morning, his mind is focused on the question of how long he can retain the possessions he now has.

The house at which Ivanov this morning casts a nervous backward glance would in the US be regarded as a lower middle-class family dwelling. But in Petrogorsk these accommodations are sumptuous. Ivanov's foreman and even his engineers live in shabby, over-crowded apartments where every room is occupied by an entire family, and toilets and kitchens are each shared by some 15 or 20 people. The rank and file workers live in log cabins, in wooden barracks, and even in earthen dugouts. The manager's automobile is also a rarity in a town of horses and creaking trucks. But today, Ivanov wonders how long his house and his vehicle will belong to him. For they are not personal possessions. They come and they go with his director's status—and Ivanov knows only too well that the average USSR plant manager holds his job only two years, followed by promotion to a bigger factory or demotion to a lower job, poorer plant or even concentration camp. It all depends on his success or failure in fulfilling production plans. Today is a time of danger in his life for a traveling accountant from Moscow's Finance Ministry is arriving on the usual 24-hour notice to inspect the plant's account books with special reference to the balance between output and outlay, and the whole factory administration may be summarily discarded if anything very essential is found to be wrong.

F KUZNETSK STEEL WORKS HEADS WEEKLY CONFERENCE OF EXECUTIVES

Unfortunately, for Comrade Ivanov, the Red Dawn's finances—as is the case in most USSR heavy industry—are far from perfect. Ivanov is worried. He is worried sick. With a dead heart, he summons a conference of the plant's five key men to take defensive measures against the all-potent inspector from the capital. First, there is the chief of the factory planning section who helps Ivanov to compile production plans for every quarter. In theory, this executive is one of Ivanov's own assistants. But in fact, he has a dual loyalty since he concurrently takes orders from the city or regional planning boards which locally represent the super-ministry, the USSR State Planning Commission.

Number two man at the conference is the secretary of the party organization which unites all members in the

Manager Ivan Ivanov *continued*

plant. Actually this Soviet opposite number of an American ward-heeler is the plant's real boss. He is the on-the-spot representative and the legalized stool pigeon for the city and regional party headquarters through which his reports are screened to Russia's government within a government — the all-powerful central committee of the USSR Communist Party. He is empowered to countermand the manager's own orders.

Conferee number three is the secretary of the factory's trade union organization. He has little influence except that he too reports to outside offices on the factory's general condition, its productivity and its morale. Like the head of a company union in America, he verbally protects the worker's interests but is never permitted to reach the mundane point of opposing management's wage-hour policies. A main part of his task is to convince the workers that they should work harder and produce more. The majority of factory employees are under his jurisdiction not only because social security benefits automatically double in joining the union. Although all this would seem to furnish enough duplication of managerial authority, there are two other factory officials who are independent of Ivanov as Director. The first heads up the "Special Section"—an MVD secret police unit which acts as the plant's Gestapo and protects it against sabotage and subversive ideas. If a worker should appear more than 20 minutes late, the Special Section arrests him and he becomes a prison laborer in the factory for three to four months at half pay.

Finally, there is the chief of the "Military Section." He is an army engineer who supervises the factory's continuous war preparations. He plans plant camouflage, arranges blackout and air raid precautions and checks the conversion potential of the factory to produce guns instead of stamping metal whenever the need should arise. He also personally decides who can be spared to the army in wartime and who should be deferred to stay at his post and help keep the factory going. Hence, in Ivanov's factory, the number of non-productive executives and spies is really staggering, especially when it is recalled that the planning, party union, secret police and army chieftains each has a sizeable staff of his own. Great seas of paper engulf factory offices as these dignitaries perpetually compile and file, but never forget, their bulky reports to their superiors on the outside. If a particular report is not big and thick, the man submitting it would be looked on as lazy, as shirking his assignment. Any American efficiency expert would be horrified by this waste of manpower and try to put at least 90 per cent of these "paper workers" into more genuinely productive pursuits. But the Soviet Government is primarily interested in maintaining an iron-clad control over its factories. By having all these functionaries watch the plant and each other, the control becomes virtually perfect even though the factory itself may creak and groan under the monumental confusions of multiple management.

Five Comrades, Tried and True

The five men gathered in Ivanov's office have been the victims of this very divide-and-rule system. Their first concern has been to enable the Red Dawn factory to meet its production schedules. All helped to formulate the policy by which the workers were overpaid to spur their productive effort. The sextet of bosses hoped that this financial loss could be made up by some future government bonus awarded the plant for superior output in both quality and quantity. The trick worked—up to a point. The poorly paid laborers speeded up to earn the few extra rubles. And as a result, Red Dawn's output was pretty much on target.

But now an always suspicious Moscow accountant is coming and the chance is that this highly illegal scheme will be discovered. To calm the agitation of his comrades, the party secretary opens the discussion. "After all," he argues, "what does Moscow really want? Production and more production. From 1928, throughout the First, Second, Third and now our Fourth Five-Year Plan, most of our heavy goods industry has operated at a financial loss and always by overpaying its labor."

"True," protests the planning section chief, "but the latest instructions from the USSR State Planning Commission insist that we cut production costs. I am responsible to the Commission for this factory, and have disobeyed its orders in the worst possible way. May I remind you, comrade Director, that the State Planning Commission also gives orders to your Heavy Machine Building Ministry."

"How about my position?" interrupts the labor union leader. "Our factory's piecework norms are set by the head of my union and the Heavy Machine Building Ministry. Both our plant, and our trade unionists are duty-bound not to change them. But we have done so, and in the wrong direction—making labor more expensive. The accountant will probably say I could have achieved the same gains in productivity by taking up socialist competition among the workers. I know, but can't tell him, that after socialist competitions all year in honor first of May Day, then the October Revolution anniversary, and finally Stalin's birthday, our workers don't react any more to that kind of inspiration."

The MVD Discovers its Conscience

The chief of the MVD spoke for the first time: "What worries me is the man listed as assistant chief engineer who is now out in mid-Siberia arranging a shipment of steel to us. You all know that Soviet law requires transactions between state enterprises to go through official channels, and factory traveling expediters are strictly forbidden. I have pretended not to see this lawbreaking, when I should have stopped it."

"Oh, that's easy, we can say the assistant chief engineer is sick," calmly interposed the Communist party secretary, who alone dared to contradict the secret police agent since the party in a showdown is stronger than even the dread MVD.

"My God," exclaimed the director, "our monthly production meeting is due today. This is another chance for the workers to criticize factory operations, and they will surely do so. At the last meeting, their attacks on our production methods were horrible, and I am only thankful they are not permitted to criticize worker living conditions. We can't let the accountant hear them talk."

"I have already ordered the workshops cleaned, and those unsightly heaps of steel scrap will be carted to the warehouse," said the director. "A clean factory always makes a better impression. More signs are also being posted, warning of fines for breaking factory rules. That should impress a financier."

"It's about time those shops were cleaned," spoke the army officer at long last. "I could hardly walk through them without stumbling. Finance does not concern me; my war plans are ready, and factory air raid practice has gone well. But I consider this a productive factory, very useful for war, and would hate to see output decline because the accountant made all of you lose your jobs. A gay all-night party will make this Moscow inspector friendly, and he might compromise himself by getting drunk. Ten miles from here is an infantry regiment with a first-class amateur jazz band. I could arrange for it to play here tonight. Let's pool our vodka, and hold a closed ball at the union club."

"Wonderful!" exclaimed the party secretary. "Our city high school has a fine girls' chorus, very pretty too. I'll bring them up to sing. Our trade union's amateur ballet group is not bad; they can also perform. We'll send word to our factory's state farm to bring in cartloads of food. And comrades, we all have some attractive girls working in our offices. Make sure that they come."

Everyone in Director Ivanov's room displayed his sense of relief. Even the MVD man had a smile on his habitually dour face. It would be a feather in his cap to report that an important Moscow visitor had overindulged in a midnight orgy.

The happy silence was broken by Director Ivanov. He was now quite calm.

The manager of a Soviet factory, like that described in this article receives the ruble equivalent of less than $10,000 a year in cash as his salary. In America, the head of a plant of the same size would be paid $20,000 a year or more. But the Soviet production boss has a house, furniture, car and servants furnished to him free of charge. In the USSR these material possessions are worth far more than mere money can buy. By Soviet standards, a factory manager lives like a prince of Romanoff days and is one of the favored few urbanites who has privacy enough to call his home his castle.

"Postpone the meeting," ordered the party secretary, turning to the trade union leader. "It will be awkward to explain to the workers, but do it. And while you're about it, change that billboard in front of your trade union club. Instead of advertising six dances and one lecture, make it six lectures and one dance. The accountant is from our cultured capital, and we don't want him to think we're illiterate."

The trade union secretary hastily departed.

"Regarding the overpayment of workers, the government rules on labor bonuses are very complicated and not easy to check. We can explain that most of our personnel are shockworkers and must receive shockwork pay. No one need know that we had to promise this extra pay to get our production plan fulfilled. There's little enough the poor workers can buy, even with the extra money."

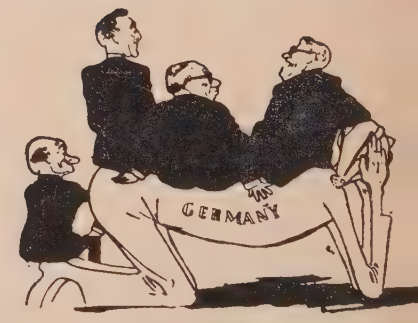
The party secretary, as always, had the last word: "Comrades, let's get going—fast."

USA

Yugoslavia

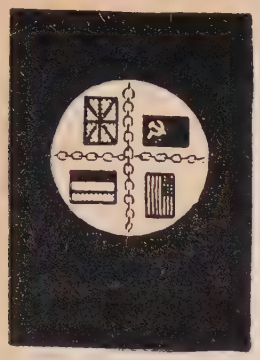
The Big Five
De Groene Amsterdammer (Amsterdam

Laughter Around The World

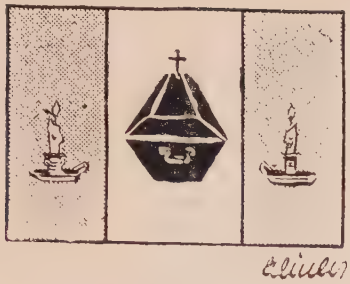


Foundation for East-West Negotiations
Abendpost (Frankfurt

T FOR NEW NATIONAL FLAGS

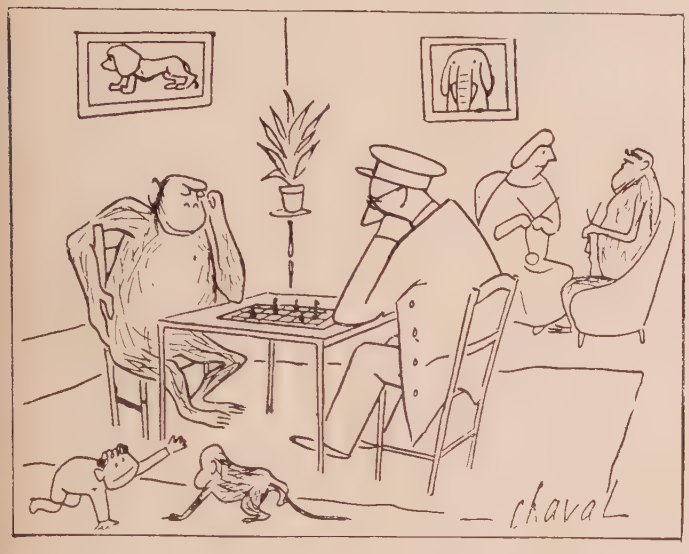


Germany

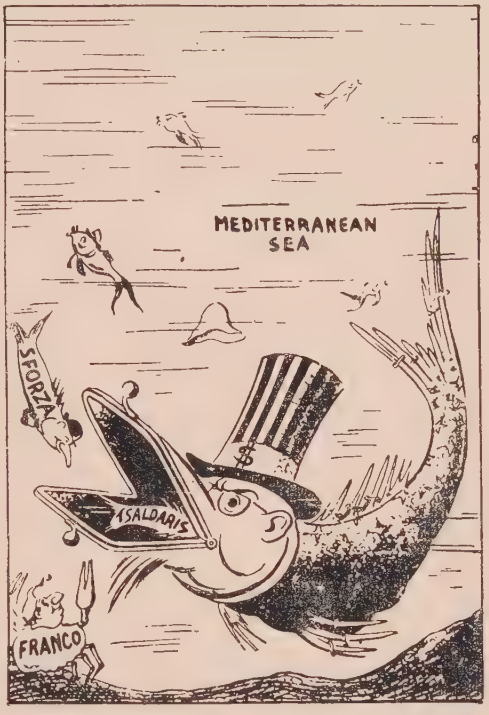


Satellites

Russia
Mizah (Istambul)



The Zoo Keeper's Holiday
Samedi Soir (Paris)



A Big Fish in a Small Pond
Crocodile (Moscow)

The International Shoppe
The Toronto Globe-Mail (Toronto)

New Statecraft On the Equator

BY ROBERT B. GOLDMANN

ECUADOR for the traveler by sea is really equatorial: hot, steaming Guayaquil is set on the Guayas River amidst bright green jungle. Here tongues chatter endlessly, and the exuberant, handsome, part-Spanish, part-Indian, citizens enjoy a rich physical existence. But when they lift up their eyes they can see, on a clear day, one of the world's impressive sights: the 20,000-foot snow-crowned Mount Chimborazo.

Sharp contrasts are warp and woof of Ecuador. The centuries-old Spanish-colonial grandee graciousness—and decay—and the hard lives of the Indian mountain-dwellers; the flowering, in a small élite, of a high level of poetic and humane culture, and the near or complete illiteracy of the great majority; fine phrases of civic rhetoric, and graft, corruption, and inefficiency.

To bring modernization to these diverse elements, to bring full production and social justice, and yet to retain the good elements in the old culture, for this Ecuador needed a new kind of man, a man who would institute reforms, see they were carried out, and, at the same time, serve both as the symbol and as the heart and nervous system of the awakened nation.

Many countries have found their leaders among those born or bred with intermingled traditions. Ecuador has found hers in a man born in New York—his father, General Leonidas Plaza, twice President of Ecuador, was then Ambassador to the United States. After childhood and boyhood in Quito and on his family's great Andean estate, he was educated during crucial years at the Universities of Maryland and California.

El Presidente Galo Plaza Lasso, devoted champion of his people, takes it as a great part of his task to bring to them the good things he learned or saw in the United States.

The Government Palace in Quito, Ecuador's capital, dates from the early Spanish period. The story goes that the phantoms of the old colonial days used to roam it freely until a very short while ago. They felt quite at home with Ecuador's leaders who, just as centuries ago, wore picturesque dress, made eloquent speeches—and accomplished little.

But when on September 1, 1948, the new, constitutionally elected President moved into the ancient halls with firm determination to get things done, the phantoms hurried for cover. And when El Presidente installed a refrigerator next to his office, so that he could lunch at his desk, they knew that there was no longer any room for them.

Galo Plaza, a 6-foot 1-inch, forty-

EL PRESIDENTE GALO PLAZA:

Ecuador's New York-born President has replaced "mañana" by "today". But his Yankee efficiency is combined with South American romanticism and humanism. By fusing these hitherto non-miscible elements, he shows the way to a new leadership in Latin America.

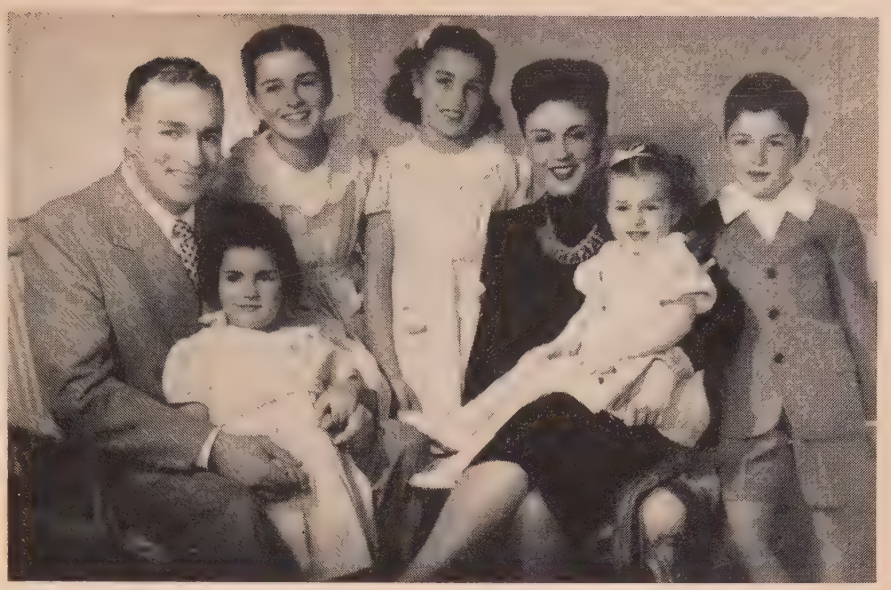
four year old, 200-pounder, is very unlike his predecessors. He is neither doctor nor lawyer, poet nor general: he is a farmer. He doesn't like hair-splitting debates, but prefers practical discussions on specific problems. He hates palace etiquette—and, above all, striped pants.

Galo Plaza's career began when he was appointed attaché to Ecuador's Washington Embassy. But old General Plaza wanted his son to have a taste of life—life that wasn't smooth in 1930, low point of the depression. One morning a letter reached Galo, telling him that "until further notice" he would be expected to make his own living.

The young man went to New York, turned apple salesman, and worked up to selling real estate. When he had had enough of it, he got himself a job with the Grace Line as assistant purser.

Then new orders arrived from the General. The family estate near Quito was deeply in the red. Galo was to return home immediately and straighten things out.

Erosion had reduced the arable land on the steep Andean slopes to a small fraction of the total acreage. The wooden plow, an inheritance from Inca days, had for decades turned over the same layers of top soil. Harvests were so scanty that bankruptcy threatened.



THE FIRST AND HAPPIEST family of Ecuador: Señor Galo Plaza and his lovely wife Señora Rosario Pallares de Plaza with their children. From left to right: Chichi, Elsa, Luz, Marcela, Galo. Latest addition to the family, Diana Margarita is not present.

Challenge to a Farmer

Galo Plaza went to work immediately. He ordered caterpillars, wheat drills, combines and deep-soil cultivators from the US. Patiently he demonstrated to the Indian farm-workers the superiority of the new equipment. Contour plowing soon changed the very face of the land, and crops began to soar.

In 1933 Galo Plaza married Rosario Pallares Zaldumbide, who was as different from the usual Quito debutante as her bridegroom from the social set's young men.

"Rosarito," as the beautiful first lady is popularly called, had been one of the first society girls to attend a liberal college, and the romance of the two unorthodox young socialites developed much like that of a typical American boy and girl. Today they have six fine children.

By 1937 Galo Plaza's achievements on his family's huge estate had become so widely recognized in Quito that the capital's inhabitants asked him to get the municipality out of the red.

Mayor Galo Plaza turned the trick by purchasing, at very low cost, a great track of flat land situated between Quito's outskirts and the airport. Today this land is worth about one hundred times its purchase price, and the city is wealthy. Galo Plaza's public service had begun. Toward the end of 1938 he was appointed Defense Minister, and then Ambassador to the US.

In Washington, he let it be known he was not a professional diplomat, but a practical farmer, and did not go in for formal parties, nor for cocktail sessions. But soon everybody in Washington grew fond of the Plaza brand of informality, and the Ecuadorean Embassy became one of the hubs of the city's social life. Plaza enjoyed Washington. But—sticking to principles was more important than sticking to position. When President Velasco Ibarra became dictator in 1946, Galo Plaza resigned. He would not serve under a despot.

In the same year a new political force was stirring in Ecuador. Men of all political faiths, from socialists to conservatives, had tired of the endless intrigues which had reduced the old parties to impotence, and given power-hungry men their chance to take over the country. The new group wanted genuine patriotic action. Differing on methods, they agreed on certain fundamentals—restoration of the people's rights, on the United States pattern; honest government; and responsiveness by the political parties to public opinion. These men organized the *Movimiento Civico Democratico Nacional,* and to translate their ideas into action, they chose Galo Plaza.

Challenge to a Politician

In 1947 the MCDN elected Plaza to the Ecuadorean Senate against the opposition of all the old parties, and repeated its success in the Presidential elections of 1948. Galo Plaza became one of the world's youngest chief executives.

At his inauguration he laid down the guiding principles of his administration:

"The leaders of mankind are at

New Statecraft On the Equator *continued*

present engaged in the task of finding the proper equilibrium between . . . classical individualism on the one hand, and the imperative claims of society on the other. Whether as lawmaker, head of state, or economic glutton, the omnipotent, sovereign, despotic individual can exist no longer. With every day that passes, the individual becomes more and more a cooperative element within the social whole . . . But it is equally certain that the complex social order of which we are a part has developed on the basis of individual liberty . . . and the axis around which . . . contemporary society revolves is the liberty of the individual."

Challenge to a President

Maintenance of individual liberty within a system that has as basic object the benefit of society as a whole—that is Galo Plaza's philosophy. Once announced, he talked no more theory.

Among Galo Plaza's innovations is a three-hour weekly period devoted to non-influential Ecuadorians. Each interview is allowed a maximum of three minutes, and in the course of this the President settles, or tries to settle, everything—from marriage problems to tribal troubles. With the Indians he speaks their native Quechua. He never leaves his office before 8 pm, often much later.

A Program for Weekends

El Presidente does not have much time for hobbies, but manages to get to his farm most weekends. He checks books and livestock, drives tractors, lends a hand wherever he can. Farming has remained his favorite occupation. "I like the smell of a stable," he says with relish.

His other big hobby is sports. He likes to sit in the bleachers: "It's much more fun to have fun with a crowd than alone," he once remarked.

Knowing that Ecuador is destined to remain essentially agricultural, President Plaza is concentrating his efforts on farm problems.

"The earth is good and productive, but the earth gets tired, unless modern techniques of cultivation are applied." But realizing that "modernization means taking the people into a new world," President Plaza is making the transition from wooden plow and machete to tractor and combine carefully, step by step.

An "Institute of Development" has been formed, whose administrative board is made up of members from all sectors of Ecuador's life, and a "Traveling Rural Service" has been created—teams of experts to tour the whole country, advising on agricultural credit, soil conservation, seed selection; on interesting and constructive leisure time activities; on personal hygiene; and on many other things.

The dynamic Chief Executive is also acting to stimulate the tourist trade, and to modernize the country's small textile and cement industries.

Galo Plaza does not cater blindly to all the wishes of the workers: "Just increases—yes," he says, "but not more money for less work. What this country needs is more production: by means of work, more work, and yet more work."

Latin America: Kin to the US

El Presidente's foreign policy is, consistently to endorse the closest possible ties between the Latin American nations and the US. He is one of the United States' best and staunchest friends.

"It is not true that the Latin American nations are closer to the nations of the European continent, especially Spain and France, than to the US," Galo Plaza states. "The difference between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and those of the Old World (with whom, it is true, we have many ties of blood and culture) is greater than between North America and Latin America. North America and Latin America have these basic characteristics in common: youth, geography, and destiny. . . . If we are generally more theoretical, abstract, romantic, while you are more concrete, practical, functional, that only means that we can benefit from your approach in our effort to raise our peoples' living standard; and maybe you North Americans could enrich your lives by borrowing some of our overdose of romanticism and humanism."

But if you suggest to Galo Plaza's friends that his approach to the job is the result of his US education, you invite the reply: "We don't think so. We believe rather that Galo Plaza represents a new Ecuadorean generation, a new type of Latin American."

If they are right, Latin America can look to the future with much confidence.

A HIGHBALL and Mr. Churchill's Memoirs. Galo Plaza, every inch the Man of Distinction, relaxes in a New York Hospital while undergoing checkup.

The Children's Army Of The United Nations

Girls and boys, by millions, are eagerly enlisting in the great adventure to bring peace to all men.

By LAURA VITRAY

CHILDREN have got hold of the idea that the UN is an exciting adventure of all mankind—and they are clamoring to be in on it. From five continents their letters pour in to Lake Success. In painstaking script, in many languages, in phrases that sometimes make adults smile, they write to Secretary-General Trygve Lie to proffer their support, to express their enthusiasm for the sort of friendliness that knows no boundary lines.

The UN discerns in these letters of children a great opportunity. It is using them to recruit an army. Not the international army of fighting men with which some day the World Organization may be able to impose sanctions on an aggressor nation. Rather, a "peace army" of millions, international in character too, striving in every corner of the earth to bind peoples together, with ties that are hard to break. The UN sees in this spontaneous upsurge of children a real hope, the start of a chain reaction in which adults as well as children may well be caught. That is why the great volume of letters is carefully read, their queries thoughtfully answered by experts, who know how to give to the children's will for peace a practical leadership.

Recently, from Nantes in France, a city that suffered disaster in World War II, there came in the morning mail a batch of letters from small boys, eager to tell Mr. Lie about their imaginary magic plane, that circles the world constantly on friendship tours. The great ship—its name is the "Star of Nantes"—is perhaps the first of the UN's invisible fleet.

Claude Briand, aged eleven, writes: "We hold school in an airplane, *L'Etoile Nantaise,* which shines upon the world as we fly. We are all consuls of some nation, and we work for the peace of the world, trying to form a chain of friendship between all lands. We bombard the earth with toys and books. *Vive la paix et l'ONU.*"

"We are divided into three crews, Bleriot, Guynemer and Mermoz," young Bernard Choblet explains. "Our motto is 'Always higher, always faster, straight to the goal.' " Together we form the United Nations. We work for the prosperity of the world and we try to see that no war shall break out." And Philippe Maugendre adds: "It is a magnificent white airplane with four motors. We also have a ma-

gician, Vedie, who sometimes takes us on trips into the past."

"It is a new method our teacher, Monsieur Gernaux, first thought of," says Claude Burgaud's letter. "We have held school in a plane since New Year's. We learn as well as others, for we travel around the world. Our ship's newspaper already has twenty-five pages, illustrated with maps and drawings. Our mascot is a white dog named Croc-blanc. I think that the new Rights of Man you have caused to appear will be as good as those of 1789."

These boys of Nantes had of course already received the simple booklets the United Nations has prepared for young readers, describing how it tries to fulfill its global task of building a lasting peace. And they must have been reading the Declaration of Human Rights, a document that seems everywhere to arouse the enthusiasm of young freedom-lovers.

Mr. Lie and his aides at Lake Success are convinced that the peace dreams of boys and girls like those at Nantes can spearhead the great peace offensive so urgently needed in the world right now. For children belong to families—and families feel the contagion of ideas that excite their young members. Behind the children of the world are parents who frequently have been disillusioned by suffering, or whose minds have been warped by ignorance, indifference, or prejudice against their fellow men. Through their small sons and daughters they can be reached with a brand new point of view.

City of Sorrows

Take the city of Nantes itself. If you will glance at your map of France, you will find it at the mouth of the Loire River, just inland from St. Nazaire. The two towns almost merge into one great port city. Nantes, with its 187,000 inhabitants, is very like many a manufacturing center in the United States. There are the canning factories to which vegetables are brought by rail from the surrounding farms of Brittany. There are locomotive works, tinplate mills, oil refineries. Down at the docks they are forever unloading American coal bound for factories all over France. Last year in the vast shipyards along the river they were rebuilding the famous French liner *Ile-de-France* and reconditioning the German liner *Europa*. There was worry, too, about possible unemployment when these jobs were done.

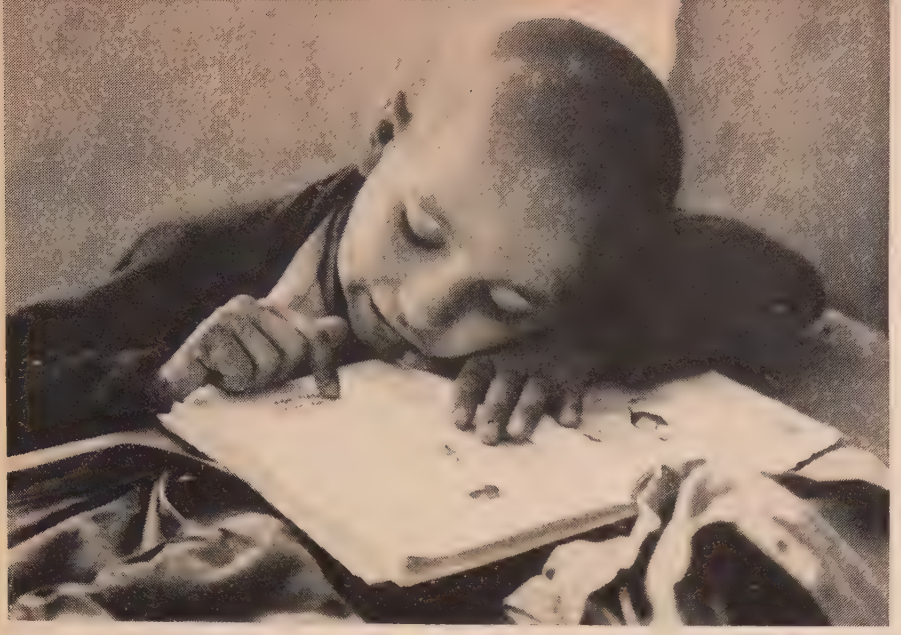
Today's picture gives you barely a clue to the fiery hell that Nantes has lived through in the past decade. First, the Germans, occupying northern France, chose St. Nazaire-Nantes as their major submarine base. For eighteen months they were busy building a mammoth structure of steel and concrete along the waterfront. Local resistance was met by mass shooting of civilians in the public square. Then, in September 1943, when the base was completed, British and American heavies suddenly darkened the sky over Nantes in wave after wave. Their bombs bounced off the massive concrete. But the workers' districts behind the shipyards, and much of the center of the city were wiped out. In Nantes, 2,372 buildings were destroyed, 10,623 badly damaged. Bombs killed more than 2,000 persons, injured more than 3,000. The children of Nantes, as well as the grown-ups, know what war means.

For some years there was great bitterness among the plain people of this city. They hated not only the Germans, but the British and Americans as well. It was hard for them to understand death at the hands of their allies.

Happily, all that has passed. With the aid of American dollars, the rubble has been cleared, modern housing has replaced the old, there's a new spruceness about the town. Now the children are coming home from school talking about l'ONU—*l'Organisation des Nations Unies*—the United Nations, which is trying to prevent wars.

Children, who see truth easily, are quick to grasp the need of joining hands in a worldwide effort to make the United Nations work. In Nantes, and a thousand other cities of the world, they are readily recruited for the UN army of peace.

THE PEOPLES of the world saved from wars by the United Nations. A student of Joan of Arc High School in New York City designed this birthday greeting to the UN.



THIS LITTLE GREEK scholar is learning to read, dreaming of a world where there will be peace, safety from war, poverty and hunger that have afflicted all Greek children.

From Africa comes a letter for Mr. Lie which says: "Dear Sir, I am very pleased to write you this. It is to inform you sir, that I join your company. I got your address from one of my friend. I beg, sir, reply to my letter in time. Yours, Timothy-one-duy, Shamboni, Nigeria."

Another youth in Nigeria writes: "Dear Sir, Please send me your book of Unite Nation, of which I am very much delighted. I shall be very glad and thankful. Edward O. Emetitiri. Ekiwia Sapele, Nigeria."

Still another in the Nigeria mailbag reads: "Sir, perhaps my letter will come as a saprise to you. Please kindly send me a picture of the United Natiens, for I am very interesting in it. I am a girl, my name is Mene U. Fakande, 12 years old, and 4 ft. 6 ins. tall. I want you people to send me a note of what you like from Abraka. rice or coconut. My hobbies are school, sports and girl scouts. Elementary school just a stone throw from our house. Compliments to people in United Natiens. Your friend, Mene U. Fakande."

Books, toys, a little rice or coconut to share. But children are sharing still more important things: ideas. "I want to know all about UNO, please send me information," writes a highschool boy on a postcard. He is Bhaskar-Prahadroo Pataskar, of Jai-Hind, Ellichpur, India. But he could be his counterpart in a thousand places.

Here's a note from a German boy, living in a cellar in Berlin. He wrote to wish a happy New Year to the UN. Here is one from a youth in Israel—one of those who escaped the Nazi mass murders. Both lads are earnestly reaching for the idea of how to make peace and friendship work. Here's a letter from the Anglo-Chinese Secondary School at Kampar, Malaya—the "richest tin-mining district in the world" it proudly states. And another from Montreal, where the children of the Jewish People's School are planning to hold their own "UN Assembly." There are letters from children that can't be quoted to advantage, perhaps. For, as one little American girl confesses: "You see, I am only eleven years old. I can't tell you in words how I like the UN. The words are not good enough for that." No, but the idea is there. A thought with wings, flying around the globe like a shiny-white four-motored plane.

Flood of American Mail

In the US, Uncle Sam will soon need a flock of new postoffices to take care of the groundswell of children's letters to the UN. And the UN may need to add a few more experts to reply to the searching questions they pose. What has the United Nations really done? What is its goal? Why does it still use the veto? Why should the Big Four have more power than the smaller nations? Does the UN help children of different nations to understand each other? Why is the UN held in the United States?

Delegates of the fifty-nine nations to the UN General Assembly last autumn received the following communication from America's Far West. It was signed by one small boy as "scribe"—but the names of thirty-three other children were written below his.

"Dear Representatives: Our sixth grade class has read about the UN Assembly and we want to thank you for the great care you are giving to the world. Congratulations on your wonderful work these last four years in trying to make a free world for not *just* us. We hope you can hold everything and keep the peace till we get old enough to take over. So far you have done *very* well.

"We talk about the United Nations a lot and hope you can hold things down for ten or twelve years till we can get there. Won't it be wonderful when somebody in our room is a rep-

CHILDREN from behind the Iron Curtain are eager admirers of UN, too, and their letters tell the universal childhood story of wanting to help make a peaceful world.

The Children's Army *continued*

resentative? Remember, we are behind you and rooting for you. Congratulations again, and a word of encouragement from Richard W. Frazier (scribe), Elementary School, Silverdale, Washington."

In classrooms all over the earth today, children are reading and talking about the UN. Far-seeing teachers are manning these recruiting stations—but they are often amazed at the passionate interest with which young volunteers flock to the UN banner. As an Arab teacher wrote concerning the booklets the UN sent: "Our boys are happy that they hardly leave them an inch behind. They would love to see those great men who first started this great work."

What do children really get out of their tremendous new venture in internationalism? Far more than you would think. A sense of belonging to a bigger, freer, friendlier world—the only basis for a real sense of security, perhaps, amid so much talk of war. Imagination—their magic plane—sets them down in many parts of the earth, creating bonds of sympathy for people they have never seen. Glance at the newspaper of the "Star of Nantes," and you will discover that the youngsters have roamed the parks of London, and farther afield, the cities of China, Russia, Canada, the United States. The Nantes travelers had one harrowing incident with a tiger when their plane descended in a clearing in the jungles of India, but they got back to Benares safe and sound. More significant was their encounter with the 11-year-old "Hindu," Yves le Grand, who was rescued by their great white plane.

"You are a Hindu, a pearl fisher?"

"Yes, and my name is Yves le Grand."

"What were you doing on this deserted island?"

"I was shipwrecked, my barque broken to pieces on the rocks, and I would have been devoured by the terrible Condor birds without your help. I could hear their sharp cries and the batting of their wings. I was afraid to raise my head for fear they would pluck out my eyes. But where are you taking me in your plane?"

"To Nantes, in France."

"If you wish, I will join your crew. I will try to help you in your mission, to show my gratitude."

"Yes, but do you know the law of our crew? 'Always higher, always faster, straight to the goal.' Those who join us must be brave in seeking peace. They must not fear even death."

"I shall be brave unto death," he swore.

We grasped his hand and took an oath that he should forever be one of our own family . . .

UN Rescues Millions

There are millions of children around the world who know the UN chiefly by the fact that it has rescued them. Perhaps in less dramatic fashion than in this incident of the "Star of Nantes." Yet their gladness is every bit as real as that of the "Hindu" Yves. They will never let the UN down.

In Japan, at the start of 1950, 248,710 destitute boys and girls were given clothes for which the United Nations, through its International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), furnished the raw cotton. The Japanese Government paid for the processing, and Japanese workers contributed part of the labor. Almost every one of those youngsters sat down and wrote a letter; the result has been a tidal wave. "I shall have a happy, happy Oshgatsu (New Year)," says the little girl Sachiyo Baba. "Every night I fold my clothes under my pillow. I am half crying with joy."

Japan's Emperor, they say, has lately been deeply troubled over his possible moral responsibility for the war. But his son, the youthful Crown Prince Akahito, a boy in his teens, has his thoughts turned to the future, and to the tasks of peace. Under the guidance of his American tutor, Mrs. Vining, he is eagerly studying the UN's Declaration of Human Rights.

Out of the long, dark winter of Finland, a small boy who received a shoe for his only foot through the UN "Children's Appeal," wrote recently to wish the United Nations "a good Springtime." In Helsinki, blind girls composed a letter in Braille. And Helmi Menninen of Kurenala explained in simple Finnish: "Because of the war there has been a lack of food. But the United Nations has fed us. We receive lard, milk powder, fish powder, margarine and meat. I give my best thanks to the United Nations."

UNICEF furnishes a million supplementary meals a day to children in Italy. It has cared for hundreds of thousands of boys and girls in refugee centers in Greece. It has flown streptomycin to Prague, to save Czechoslovakian children stricken with tubercular meningitis. They get food in Czechoslovakia, too; listen to this:

"We, the pupils of the National School in Prostredni Lanov, boys and girls, thank you. We like to drink the good milk and the wholesome cod liver oil. But most of all we look forward to Wednesday. On that day we receive some meat or lard in our bread. It is our big holiday. (*Signed*) For the Pupils' Council: Jeroslava Sirova, Bohumil Jedlicka, Jaroslav Pochop."

If the "Star of Nantes" happens to alight at the Zerka Camp in Amman, just outside the borders of Palestine, its crew members will see hordes of little refugee Arabs eating and drinking as the UN's guests—guests of the friendly peoples of the world. Or the plane might follow UN doctors as they fly to many countries, testing and vaccinating more millions of children against tuberculosis. If UN doctors have a motto, you may be sure it is "Ever higher, ever faster, straight to the goal."

The goal is peace—and there ought to be a good Springtime, with so many children wanting it so. Children who have made the intimate acquaintance of war, and killing, and homelessness and starvation, and yet can believe in universal brotherhood, in the notion that "freedom for all" must surely come true.

Though adults may hear only the old dissensions and political storms, children ride above these, in a clear, clean atmosphere.

CHINESE DOUBLEHEADER AT LAKE SUCCESS

A cartoon by the world-famous team of caricaturists Derso and Kelen who "help statesmen of the world see themselves as others see them." This drawing is from their forthcoming "UN Sketchbook" to be published next month by UN World—Funk & Wagnalls.

World Literature At Mid-Century

By ANNE FREMANTLE
Assistant Professor, Fordham University

In England the men have taken the lead away from women. Often they deal with new and terrible subjects. But their books are still furnished with the traditional landscape of the old hierarchical society.

III. The English Novel

"SEVENTY-TWO religions, and only one sauce," sighed the French Ambassador to London, M. Paul Cambon, as he helped himself sadly to some smothered cauliflower, in the early years of this century. Since the King of England is head not only of its civil society, but also of its Church, religion in England is socially stratified, so that every faith, from Plymouth Brethren to the Countess of Huntingdon's Persuasion, is aware of its place, and keeps it.

Indeed, everything is socially significant in England, from the way shoes are laced (ladies and gentlemen never criss-cross their laces) to the way you drink your tea (only the middle classes put the milk in first); from the way you sleep (bolsters are not good form) to the way you eat. Fishknives are bourgeois; soup must be sipped from the spoon's side and never, never served for luncheon; since Queen Victoria did it, roast chicken bones may be handled, but mutton chops never; fishforks are approved, though all forks present problems, even to the way they are held. Heart is taboo, liver O.K. and parsnips are better than turnips.

Though religions have faded, and the form of social customs is constantly modified by time, yet society still is tiered and layered. But the universally valid factor, which used to be knowledge of one book, the authorized version of the Bible, has now changed. The universal factor today, is the BBC's standard of spoken English, with its basic vocabulary.

English authors, from earliest times, have found the esoteric English social code with its multiple variations, its complicated cross-references, not a straitjacket, but rather an unending source of material and of delight. From Milton to Dr. Johnson and to Matthew Arnold to Charles Morgan and Graham Greene, English writers have mostly belonged to the middle classes.

There have, of course, been notable exceptions: Shakespeare and Shelley, Sir Philip Sidney, and Lord David Cecil, Keats and Rockingham, Burns and Blake, spring instantly to mind. But, on the whole, neither the aristocrat nor the artisan has produced the bulk of English writing, nor been the average writer.

On the whole, the average writer has stayed in his own bailiwick. When he hasn't, like Spenser, when he imagined feudal or faerie chivalry to resemble the Elizabethan court seen from its ante-rooms, or like George Eliot, when she tried to depict Renaissance Florence with eyes trained to observe Midland morals, he has usually come to grief.

From its earliest days, English literature has produced a brilliant, detailed, and continuous chronicle of life lived by the middle-classes through the observation of their minutiae. History spotlights kings or nobles, but from Chaucer's giggles at the Wife of Bath's pretensions to a command of French, to Jane Austen's photogenic drawing-room, to Henry Green's vignette of the horrible spinsters breakfasting in the great house requisitioned for them by the State, or Arthur Calder Marshall's interior of a young misfit's room in *Pie in the Sky*, writers have given us an unbroken chronicle, unique in presenting the backdrop, solid, intimate, stable, reassuring, of English middle-class. And so it has been from Fielding and Dickens, through Galsworthy and Wells, to Elizabeth Bowen and Jocelyn Brooke.

From such details as the nuances between aspidistra and cactus; between napkin and serviette; between holiday and vacation (only governesses ever took vacations! everyone else, from cabby to cabinet minister, 'had their holiday') a wonderful, hierarchic, formalized landscape, with furniture as well as figure, has been created, which is the common

property of all English writers of today no less than yesterday.

And this social, or sociological, or snobbish (you need pay no penny for your choice of adjective) slant, is as true of the novel since 1945, as before. But the material observed with the same doting care has changed considerably. The world of *Charley is my Darling* (Joyce Cary) or *Put out More Flags* (Evelyn Waugh), two novels about the grisly effect of city evacuees on the English countryside, is vastly different from that of Rosamond Lehmann's *The Ballad and The Source*, Nancy Mitford's *The Pursuit of Love* or Virginia Woolf's posthumous *Between the Acts* (1941).

And the world of George Orwell's *Coming Up for Air* differs immensely from that of Rupert Croft-Cooke's *Another Sun, Another Home*, though both deal with much the same milieu. It was *The Forsyte Saga*, and the translations of Thomas Mann which popularized novels about the middle-classes amongst the English gentry. Earlier, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* had touched a chord later to be sounded, far more sentimentally, by J. B. Priestley in *The Good Companions*.

London has ceased to be the spiritual climate of English writers. Between the wars, it was not only the market-place for *all* writers, artists and musicians, but it formed, to a great extent, their spiritual climate. Between the mid-nineteenth century (the Brontes, George Eliot), except for the deliberately regional (Trollope, Hardy and Mary Webb), the Irish, or the Indian (E. M. Forster. Kipling, L. H. Myers) the average first-rate novelist's home-base was London. Since the war. there has been a great flittering, not to the country so much as to the unexplored provincial towns and their suburbs. shown by such novels as Graham Greene's *Brighton Rock*, or C. P. Snow's *Time is Hope*. Other of the best novels by the younger writers are set overseas: Lawrence Durrell's brilliant *Cefalu*, Richard Marsh's *Mountain of the Upas Tree*.

In fact, so many are set outside England that it almost seems that writers compensate by such vicarious journeys for the physical traveling denied the citizen by the British Treasury. It is remarkable how quickly the war-novel came and went in England, and how quickly the English writers got the war out of their system! Nigel Balchin was the most widely read of the younger writers who set their novels in the area of conflict. His *The Small Back Room* is a brilliant account of interdepartmental squabbles in a scientific war research department, whilst George Millar's *The Horned Pigeon* focused on an anguished picture of soldier-civilian relationships.

Phillip Toynbee and Anthony West are two really remarkable young writers, who indicate that Lysenko is perhaps as wrong about the imagination as he is scientifically, for the child of Arnold Toynbee and Rosalind Murray (and thus Gilbert Murray's grandson) and the offspring of Rebecca West and H. G. Wells. stand out head and shoulders in their generation.

All the above-mentioned authors, let it be noted, are men. In the twenty years preceding World War II, far the best English novelists were women. Virginia Woolf, Rosamond Lehmann, Nancy Mitford and Elizabeth Bowen have already been mentioned. Stella Benson, Rebecca West, Elizabeth Taylor, Ivy Compton-Burnett, Rumer Godden, Vita Sackville-West, Helen Simpson, Hilda Vaughan, and Margaret Lane are others. There are, too, such old war-horses as Rose Macaulay and G. B. Stern and innumerable lighter-weights such as Daphne du Maurier, Angela Thirkell, Ann Bridge, Margaret Kennedy, Helen Ashton and Dorothy Sayers. Now, however, the he's have it: today's great names are Graham Greene, Henry Green and F. L. (*Odd Man Out*) Green (someone has suggested that Green is an occupational name for novelists in England), Joyce Cary, Patrick White, whose *The Aunt's Story* has been published here by Viking, William Plomer (whose *Double Lives* is the best of many sensitive prose works), V. S. Pritchett, and Tom Hopkinson, who is better as a short-story writer.

The themes of the contemporary English novelists are, for the most part, set in the immediate present and the foreseeable future, rather than in the past. Graham Greene uses, as they occur, Nazi undergrounds, fifth columns, organized Marxism racked by schisms (*It's a Battlefield*) and timeless Africa. George Orwell's *1984*, Tom Hopkinson's *Down the Long Slide*, and Henry Green's *Concluding*, all envisage a totalitarian state to come. Only Evelyn Waugh, and he by a trick, a flashback, used to contrast the horrid present ("ichabod, ichabod, the glory has departed") with the Arcadia where he also once was, has turned completely back, in his *Brideshead Revisited;* whilst Joyce Cary's song of Protestantism, *To Be a Pilgrim*, uses past and present in dazzling concurrence.

The overall picture is of a nice crop of new authors, browsing perennially upon human nature and its intimations and recording, as exquisitely as ever, the infinite variety of the English social patterns.

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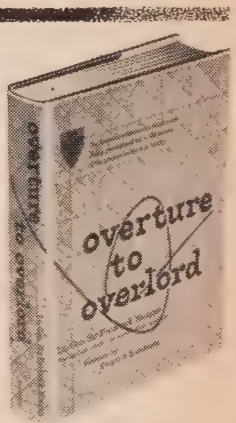

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Books in the Wind

Foreign Affairs

Decision in Germany by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Doubleday, New York, 522 pp., $4.50.
A report by the commander of American Occupation Forces in Germany covering the air-lift into Berlin as well as information of what went on in international conferences in London, Paris, Moscow and Washington. Appendices are carefully annotated and indexed.

Argentina's Third Position by Leonard T. Richmond, Acme, Buenos Aires, 334 pp., $28 m. arg.
From Argentina by an Argentinian, this book presents the position of the Argentine in world economy. It gives details of Argentina's economic policy.

Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy by Edward O. Guerrant, U. of New Mexico Press, 213 pp., index and bibliography, $3.50.
Dr. Guerrant gives his analysis of the US Latin American policy from his personal observation first as political analyst, Office of Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and later as research analyst, Division of American Republics in the US Department of State. The following subjects are scrutinized: Abandonment of Intervention; Recognition of New Governments; Quest for law and Peaceful Settlements of disputes; Trade Agreement Program and role of the Export-Import Bank; and Development of Cultural Ties.

Political Science

Bases et Profils de la Société de Demain by Jean P. Vaudaire (in French), Editions du Griffon, Neuchatel, 236 pp., 9.50 fr.
An essay divided into three parts: The individual; Society; A plan for the future; in which the author gives his opinion of what can be done with economic and social problems to avoid the atom bomb of peace—economic and social disintegration.

The Ramparts We Guard by R. M. MacIver, Macmillan, New York, 152 pp., $3.00.
Originally presented as a series of lectures at the University of North Carolina, this book is an analysis of democracy divided roughly into three sections: 1. The Failure to Understand; 2. The Violence of Change; 3. The Enemy from Without. There are copious notes and comments and an index.

Understanding Politics, A Practical Guide for Women, by Louise M. Young, Pellegrini & Cudahy, New York, 330 pp., $3.50.
Describes woman's place in the scheme of things today from her job in her home to that in the highest political ranks. Provides a bird's eye view of politics in the 48 states and women representatives in both houses of Congress. A chapter entitled "The Language of Politics" gives a concise glossary for a better understanding of its mechanics.

An Encyclopedia of Modern World Politics by Walter Theimer, Rinehart, New York, 696 pp., $5.00.
Alphabetically covers countries, systems of government, political terms, trends and problems all the way from Plato through Marx and up to our present day.

Labor Dictionary by Paul Hubert Casselman, Philosophical Library, New York, 554 pp., $7.50.
A concise compendium of labor information for reference use containing approximately 2,500 entries, consisting of definitions, biographical sketches of labor leaders, labor legislation and accounts of labor agencies and unions.

Fiction

The Wall by John Hersey, Knopf, New York, 632 pp., $4.00.
Jews, Poles and Germans appear in this novel which deals with the systematic extermination of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, and which probes into the motives of human activity presenting strong as well as weak characters, shameful as well as heroic ones, cowardly as well as brave.

The Diplomat by James Aldridge, Little, Brown, Boston, 631 pp., $3.75.
A novel by the author of "Signed With Their Honor," contrasting the traditional diplomat with the newer matter-of-fact business-like type in a setting as varied as London and Teheran, Paris and the home of the Khurds.

The Nine Lives of Europe

by Leo Lania. Funk & Wagnalls Company in association with UN WORLD, $3.50.

Reviewed by Louis P. Lochner

IN this mechanized and materialistic age it is most refreshing to find in Leo Lania a trained observer of the international scene who pictures life in Europe to us in terms of living, every-day people, of their attitudes of mind and soul, and of the things of the spirit—literature, art, the theater, etc.—that these post-war Europeans bring forth.

While not neglecting the economic and political factors, for Leo Lania is a man of broadest education and culture, he never wavers in his fundamental belief that "in days of such severe crisis, the intellectuals, artists, poets, and philosophers must fulfill the most important task—that of helping man to become aware of himself and achieve a clearer understanding of his inward self."

Lania's descriptions are vivid and colorful. He makes us see the post-war European of France, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Germany, Austria, and the British Isles so realistically that we seem transported among them.

Lania pulls no punches. He castigates the French socialists for living in the past, criticizes the foreign policy of the British Labor Party as lacking in imagination (while at the same time staunchly defending its domestic achievements), and takes sharp issue with those doctrinaire socialists who believe "Wall Street" and capitalists generally want war.

His analysis of the situation in Germany is objective and brilliant, and is in itself well worth the price of the book.

He is entirely on solid ground when he, who all his life has been an apostle of international understanding, nevertheless warns that "the unity of Europe cannot be created by fiat nor by voting for it."

What the world must come to if it is to survive is, in Lania's opinion, "moral principles which can withstand the acid test of all the contradictions of our daily life and the weaknesses of human nature."

Life In The Air Age

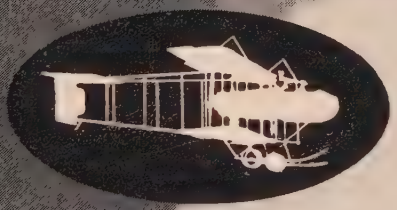
A Special Aviation Survey

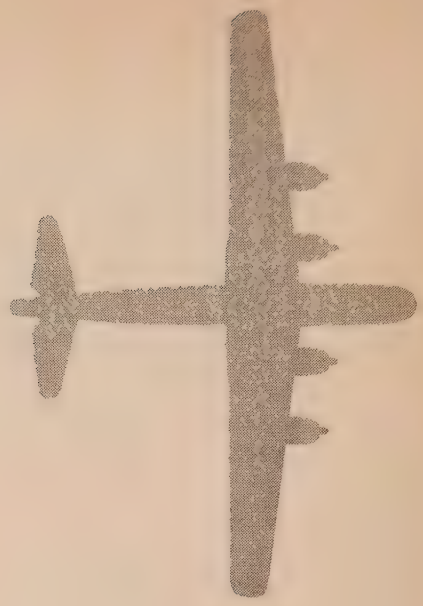
Anatomy of Global Industry No. 1

The Future of Air Cargo

The UN Watches the Wings

The 20 Questions of the Air Age





The US and Global Industry No. 1

70 airlines around the world are the prophets and reap the profits of international cooperation

By HERBERT HARRIS

THE Romans could call the Mediterranean "Mare Nostrum" (our sea) and today's citizen can refer to "my land" as a synonym for his country, but nobody can say "my air." For while a body of water or an expanse of land can be national or regional or local, air is universal. It is, therefore, not the expression of any starry-eyed optimism but rather an appraisal of reality to see the connection between air as a medium of transport and the growth of that sense of universality, of sharing a common adventure between earth and sky, that alone can save modern men from mutual murder.

To be sure, the airplane—like virtually any other basic invention from the wheel to the printing-press to the conveyor belt—can be debased to serve evil purposes. It can carry hydrogen bombs and bacteria. It can carry tabun and other poison gases which bring death by compressing the lungs or insanity by melting the brain. But it also can be herald and harbinger of a new kind of world in which men are their brothers' keepers because they cannot be anything else.

Certainly aviation, in its civilian aspect, has already given the coup de grâce to 19th century economic isolationism even if the latter at times refuses to lie down and behave like a corpse. The very speed with which it conquers space, enabling a crew of oil technicians to be rushed to Saudi Arabia from Texas, or anti-cholera serums flown from Paris laboratory to a Cairo dispensary, has added a new dimension to the interchange of skills and commodities and ideas. It has quickened the flow, and enlarged the horizons of international capital investment by making it far quicker and easier to conduct on the spot surveys, and conclude deals. Although international air transport is only a billion dollar industry, in terms of annual revenues its impact upon the world infinitely transcends its size. It is not only global industry No. 1 but also the vanguard of international living.

It is a working proof that men of

good will can work together. Consider in this regard the agreements signed, for example, by the Dutch KLM airlines with its American counterparts. One agreement is for KLM to share facilities and radio communications in the Caribbean with Pan American Airways; another agreement calls for routing international interline traffic in cooperation with TWA, Northwest and Braniff; a third agreement along with TWA, PAA, Air France and SAS stipulates the pro rata basis for paying scrub women to keep an airport clean. Behind such agreements which cover the five continents and criss-cross seventy companies, which operate 2,550 aircraft under 43 flags over 566,000 miles are the slow painstaking sweat-outs of the conference table, of compromise, of give and take, of subordinating the short-range greeds of selfism for the enlightened selfishness of the long-range view.

During thirty years, through their own global trade association, IATA, they have learned to formulate and obey the same rules, speak the same language. They have learned to surrender narrow sovereignty, commercial and political. They think and act in world terms. Their rates form a world-wide pattern. Their regulations are fashioned in part from the recommendations of such world-wide structures as the International Civil Aviation Organization (see also: "The UN Watches the Wings"). The world's airlines represent private ownership as in the US, public ownership as in the UK, and varying degrees of "mixed" ownership as in Brazil. But whatever the type of ownership, the governments of the world increasingly have been compelled to recognize the importance of international air traffic and their stake in it.

In the US, for instance, where government concern with international civil aviation should not be confused with government control, no less than nine major public agencies cope constantly with the prismatic problems of peacetime flight. Their interest in it is essentially the same as that of every other country, regardless of size, from Uruguay to the USSR, from Iraq to India. That interest represents a microcosm of international aviation's influence on high policy in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Scheduled Common Carrier Airlines of the World

Operations	Miles scheduled per week (in thousands) 1949	1948	1947	1946
US Domestic	6,509	6,089	6,135	4,947
US International	1,980	1,750	1,472	961
US Total	8,489	7,839	7,607	5,908
Other Domestic	3,508	3,154	——	——
Other International	3,069	3,045	——	——
Other Total	6,577	6,199	4,817	3,037
Sub-total	15,066	14,038	12,424	8,945
USSR	1,330	——	——	——
Grand Total	16,396	——	——	——

The US State Department, for example, assigns foreign service officers, stationed around the globe, to report and appraise everything from technical advances to the effect of air transport on internal markets in the country to which they are assigned. The US representative to ICAO and his staff are State Department employees. The Secretary of State personally selects US delegates to ICAO sessions to coordinate US international air transport activities with those of the United Nations. It has since 1948, working through the Civil Aeronautics Administration of the Department of Commerce, awarded training grants to foreign pilots, aviation mechanics, management "interns" for specialized instruction in the US at schools and colleges, in aviation plants, and in the offices of airlines and airports. It has dispatched US technical missions abroad to assist foreign governments to develop civil aviation codes, flight schools, and modernize both facilities and procedures in aeronautical communications, meteorology, cartography, landing fields. The recipient government shares expenses with the US for the work done by the CAA experts. At the moment, the State Department — in conjunction with other government agencies—is compiling the facts and figures on what the Point IV program will require in the way of aviation as a key force in pacing economic expansion for underdeveloped areas.

While the Department of Commerce affirms that it regards all aviation, international and national, as a business to be operated by businessmen, with a minimum of government aid, it nevertheless affords assistance without which airlines could hardly function. Its Civil Aeronautics Administration not only enforces safety regulations —formulated by still another, independent public agency, the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB)—but also promotes the building of airports and maintains 45 thousand miles of Federal Airways. Its National Bureau of Standards currently is conducting intensive research in such fields as aerodynamics, instrument design, lubricants and fuels, radio communications and the use of textiles, rubber and plastics as materials in aircraft construction. And its Weather Bureau Aviation Forecast stations (18 in the US, 3 in Alaska, 1 in Hawaii) quietly render spectacular service. They transmit every 6 hours, over teletype circuits, the latest data on height and thickness of cloud formations; fog, dust and mist obstructions to vision, wind velocity and turbulence, and the extent of icing at various levels. This kind of information is supplied for planes flying domestic routes as well as for US planes bound for overseas and foreign carriers winging toward American shores.

In addition, the Department's Coast

and Geodetic Survey provides the pilots of all nations with meticulous and elaborate air navigation charts that show not only shore-line terrain but also the location of beacons, radio ranges, high tension wires and skyscrapers.

Among the public agencies that deal with civil aviation, the good, gray, taken-for-granted Post Office Department can claim the major credit for being the original sponsor of air transport, and the chief mainstay of commercial aviation. When the industry was new-born, it was the Post Office's mail pay—virtually its sole support—that nourished its growth in the early days. Moreover, the taproots of international air service were planted by the Post Office through the medium of "service-subsidy" payments, made in the form of generous rates for conveying overseas airmail.

The Air Mail Gets Through

During the past eighteen months, the Post Office Department has been particularly engrossed by the international repercussions of air carriers. In 1948, it was found that many countries were holding back international airmail in order to make its delivery correspond with the flights scheduled by their own national carriers. This procedure was based on the notion that their own international airlines would benefit both in volume and in revenue. But they did not take into account the Post Office's invincible devotion to its motto of "Neither snow nor rain, nor wind nor sleet, shall stay these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds."

The Post Office notified postal authorities of all countries that it simply would not go along on any slow-up in the delivery of airmail across the seven seas. Hence, when a country held back mail intended for the US. the Post Office promptly retaliated by sending all mail intended for that country via American carriers alone.

The outcome of this philatelic air war was growing dissatisfaction among millions of people with the use of international airmail. The Post Office therefore called a conference of principal countries owning international carriers, and entered into formal agreements with them for the reciprocal exchange of all air borne letters and parcels.

But even more important than the Departments of State and Commerce and the Post Office, is the US Congress —both Senate and House. Their various committees continuously shape US air policy as well as hold the purse strings on government support of aviation in all its manifestations. In the Senate, for example, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is studying the financial stability and operational efficiency of all US airlines. That same committee has recently been very much agitated by the fact that Britain has been moving ahead of the US in producing the more advanced type of turbo-jet and turbo-prop engines for transport planes in commercial use.

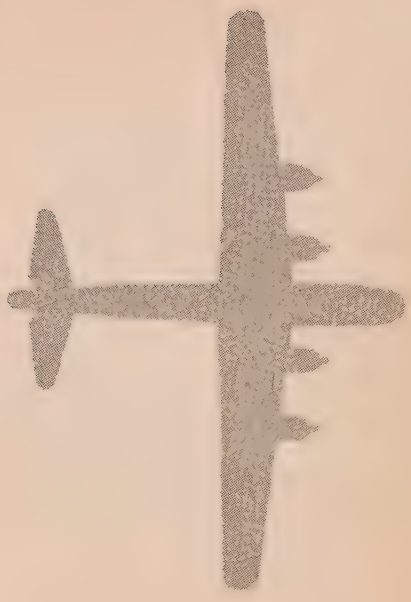
The Committee has pointed out that planes of this character can make possible the "mass transport of passengers" over long hauls, at very moderate fares. It has claimed that in a 500 mile per hour jet transport the traveler could arrive in Europe, for example, within six hours, and thus spend only half a day of, say, a two week vacation for the most time-consuming part of his trip. Such speed in air travel at low rates, the Committee affirms, would do much to ease the dollar shortage. It would enlarge tremendously American outlays for tourism in every part of the world.

Similarly, the Senate's Committee on the Judiciary is working to simplify visa requirements and to unwind at least some of the red tape of immigration inspection at airports, both in the US and abroad. But the Senate's most potent body—in aviation as in other affairs—is its Committee on Appropriations. The explanation is very simple. The Committee can give or withhold money for a multiplicity of purposes for a multiplicity of reasons. "It is the most courted committee on Capitol Hill," Senator Owen Brewster (R., Maine) once declared. "Funds appropriated by this committee can provide new airways facilities for the CAA; penalize the CAB for paper shuffling; reduce the Army to a minimum; prevent the Navy from building a super-carrier; reduce the groups of air forces . . . knock out a $16 million item in the Post Office budget for mail payments to airlines."

Naturally, the appropriations committee in the House performs a similar function. However, it is to another government body altogether, namely, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to which airlines—sometimes in a spirit of urgency—apply for loans to acquire equipment and facilities, working capital, and even the refunding of debt. It is with still greater urgency that plane passengers and personnel forced down at sea apply to the vigilance of the Coast Guard's aviation arm which rescues life and property on the water.

Everybody's Baby

There is the Department of Agriculture's Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin, which experiments with glues and propellors. There is the Treasury's Customs Bureau which assesses and collects import duties for airborne articles. There is the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) whose inspectors periodically check all transmitting apparatus for aviation radio. There is the Bureau of Mines which searches out new deposits of rare metals by air and which enjoys a monopoly in the production of light-weight, non-inflammable helium. There is the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.) which proudly displays on its museum floor Charles A. Lindbergh's "The Spirit of St. Louis." There is the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics with its $100 million research plant, and its distinguished panels of executives, scientists, metallurgists, air force and naval officers. There are many more such public organizations, duplicated in greater or less degree around the world, seeking to make man's mastery of the air serve the twin goal of prosperity and peace.



The UN Watches The Wings

By Dr. EDWARD WARNER

President of the Council,
International Civil Aviation Organization

THE passenger who flies from New York to London knows little of the thousands of people who participate in transferring him safely and comfortably across the North Atlantic. Included in that number are the weather observers who, from their posts of duty in the midst of great cities, in the Arctic's frozen wastes and on pitching vessels at sea, send back their reports faithfully and accurately; included are the maintenance personnel at La Guardia Field and at airports en route, the control tower personnel, the men who operate communications and radio navigation equipment—these and many others, employed either by governments or by the airlines to guarantee that air transport shall be both regular and safe. For the international carriage of passengers and freight by air is a complex procedure based upon a fifty-year-old technology, a technology stimulated by two great wars and requiring both the intimate cooperation and the goodwill of the nations. I believe that there is no better proof that nations can cooperate successfully when it is in their interests to do so than the history of aerial transportation.

The dependency of civil air transportation upon international cooperation was understood even in the days when a three-hundred-mile trip was a hazardous adventure, although cooperation then was required on a regional rather than a world-wide scale. As the airplane's distance-covering ability increased, so did the extent of this regional cooperation between nations. Finally, with the second world war, the transport fleets of the belligerent powers blazed the way for a new pattern of world flight; the desperate needs of a world rebuilding set a premium on the time-saving abilities of aerial transport. It became necessary to change regional agreement into world-wide agreement, and the International Civil Aviation Organization was set up to do this—to make certain that international civil aviation would be developed in a safe and orderly fashion, and that all nations would be guaranteed equality of opportunity in the establishment of international air transport services.

For five years now ICAO has worked toward these ends, and has achieved what I believe to be a gratifying measure of success, especially in consideration of the economic and political difficulties inherent in the post-war world. ICAO itself, as a specialized agency in relationship with the United Nations, has found that, at least in the realm of international aviation, its fifty-six member states are united in more than name only.

The UN Watches the Wings *continued*

LATEST weather data on illuminated chart (left) is radioed to pilot of passing plane from UN Weather Ship *Spencer*.

The specific international problems which we encounter are varied in nature, but come under three main categories: technical, economic and legal. ICAO has no mandatory powers. It cannot tell any nation that it must provide, say, certain air navigation facilities. Its success depends upon the fact that each nation which wishes to see international aviation progress knows that the cooperation of nations is the indispensable condition of advance.

The technical problems involved in travelling from point A to point B are manifold; when a national boundary comes in between A and B, it is more complicated still. The airplane and its ancillary aids are the creation of no one country or continent. All the world has had a hand in its development, and customs and regulations and operating techniques have varied from country to country. It is ICAO's objective to eliminate as much of this variation as would have an adverse effect on the safety, efficiency, and ease of flight. It is essential, for example, that maps, wherever produced, should be readable without difficulty or danger of misinterpretation by pilots of every nationality. We bring experts from our member nations together around a conference table to discuss the merits of the varying national practices and to find those most acceptable for general use.

The results of these agreements are published under the general title of International Standards and Recommended Practices; they already cover such subjects as the licensing of air and ground personnel, aeronautical maps and charts, rules of the air, meteorological codes, the standardization of dimensional units, nationality and registration marks, airworthiness of aircraft, the operation of aircraft on international scheduled services, and aeronautical telecommunications.

They fall into the four general groups—all vital to safety and efficiency—of:

1. Simplification of international operation by the use of common practices that make it unnecessary for the pilot to become familiar with a new type of meteorological forecast, new types of maps, a new system of airport lighting, and so on, for each country that he enters.
2. Simplification and economy through the standardization of radio communication and guidance with the consequent possibility of carrying only a single piece of equipment in the airplane for each purpose, whereas otherwise as many different types of radio sets could be needed as there were different systems on the ground from which signals had to be received.
3. Assurance that pilots flying in the same air-space will conform to the same rules for the avoidance of collision, and that their aircraft will be marked by day and lighted by night in accordance with a common code.
4. Assurance that the personnel engaged in flying internationally will possess a proper degree of competence, and that the aircraft that they fly will have proper built-in safety qualities.

BALLOON about to be released from weather ship carries instruments which collect and relay meteorological data.

When standards have been adopted, for any of these purposes, they are passed to the member states for incorporation into their own national practices. Our experience with the present way of handling the standards has been encouraging, for almost all of ICAO's member states have been putting them into effect as the designated times arrived, with but little deviation or delay.

It would be foolish, however, to carry devotion to a one-world concept to the point of refusing to recognize regional differences, or the frequent necessity for action and planning on less than a world-wide scale. The ICAO Council has an active interest in regional cooperation, and in providing machinery by which the flying peculiarities of the individual regions may be examined. Ten air navigation regions have been recognized—the North Atlantic, South America, the Middle East, and so on. Special air navigation meetings have been held in each region, bringing together representatives of all the nations located in the region, and also of the nations whose airlines fly through it. Such meetings scrutinize the region's air navigation needs, determine what airports and weather reports and navigation aids are necessary, consider the extent to which those already in existence meet the need and decide what must be added to make air travel here safe and regular. In the great majority of cases such added facilities are provided by the nation in whose territory they are to be located, but on occasion this rule cannot hold, for sparse populations and funds or lack of interest in aviation may make their provision impossible. In such cases the only effective answer is to have a group of ICAO member nations, nations whose civil air operations will profit if these facilities are provided, act in concert and supply funds or technical advice or both.

ICAO has a considerable amount of experience and some success in this field, which we call joint support. The member nations have already found it both useful and necessary to take concerted action in several cases. As one triumph of joint operation, a network of floating ocean stations in the North Atlantic, provides crucial weather data, serves for communications relay and for checking navigation and renders search and rescue services when necessary (fortunately very rarely). Eleven North Atlantic nations, working through ICAO participate in the operation of these stations, in agreed proportions roughly based on the amount of North Atlantic flying under the respective flags.

Joint support has so far been concentrated in the North Atlantic, the source of all the requests for such help that have so far been received but one, but it may be expected to spread to other regions with equally good effect. It already supports most of the cost of LORAN (long range radio navigation aid) stations in Iceland and the Faroe Islands, weather and communications and traffic control stations in Greenland and Iceland. The nations which pay for these facilities through ICAO are displaying an enlightened self-interest that is the surest basis for international cooperation.

ICAO High Command. Left to right: Dr. Edward Warner, Sardar Malik, Delegate of India, and Sec. Gen. Dr. Albert Roper.

The need for economic cooperation in the international field is not as obvious as the need for technical cooperation. Certainly the progress has not been nearly so dramatic. At the present time all exchanges of commercial air rights, defining the extent to which each nation's airlines can operate into other nations' territories, are controlled by bilateral agreements. More than two hundred such agreements are registered at ICAO headquarters. It has been a long-cherished hope that all these bilaterals might be replaced by a multilateral agreement, a standard set of rules for international air transport that would define the rights of international operation of which each state was entitled to take advantage. Many attempts to prepare such a multilateral have ended in disappointment: but the terms of recent bilateral pacts show the benefits of the discussions held in ICAO meetings, and that is at least a beginning.

Other economic activities range from the collection and analysis of aviation statistics to the carrying out of studies on such subjects as the cost of carriage of international air mail. The most exciting, and the most important to the ordinary traveller, is undoubtedly the ICAO crusade against surplus red tape at international boundaries. Air travel is less vexed by border-crossing formality now than it was two or three years ago, and although part of the improvement has been the natural result of getting farther away from wartime restrictions I believe that ICAO can also claim a substantial share of the credit. Certainly ICAO's recommendations on the subject are now widely applied. Certainly documentation in the forms sponsored by ICAO, for clearances and manifests and the like, is now accepted by most of the member states. Certainly there is much room for further improvement, and it has been gratifying to see the zest with which many of the national officials who have attended meetings have addressed themselves upon their return home to the securing of such improvements.

Civil aviation's interests, and the range of study and discussion in ICAO's, extend from the maintenance of radio stations north of the Arctic Circle to the subjects on which legal

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The UN Watches the Wings *continued*

experts debate around green baize tables. In the same month that the agreement for the international financing of the meteorological radio and traffic control services in Iceland was being brought to final form, ICAO's Assembly was setting the stamp of approval on a Convention on the "international recognition of rights in aircraft." The mobility of the airplane makes it a somewhat difficult object on which to place a mortgage, and the financing of the purchase of new aircraft will be much simplified if mortgage liens can be assured a firm status throughout the world. That was among the purposes of the Convention on recognition of rights, the adoption of such a Convention is only the beginning. For many states ratification will have to wait upon the amendment of existing national legislation, to avoid conflicts; but those representatives from each state who are most immediately concerned with the law of the air have shown their realization of the need for new international law to cover a new problem.

This, then, is the story of international cooperation in the air, a cooperation fostered by ICAO, by IATA, by the very practical men in the national aeronautical administrations and in the airlines. What can be done will be limited by available budgets, for the world's economic problems and the "dollar gap" are felt as sharply in international civil aviation as elsewhere. High speed transport over long distances has always involved large expenditures for governments, and air transportation has been no exception. The governments of the world now spend some hundreds of millions of dollars annually on various aspects of civil aviation, as they have spent vast sums upon the dredging of channels and the development of ports and upon the construction of highways and railways. The readiness of governments to provide support for each new form of transportation in turn has been a continuing evidence of the importance of transportation to mankind. The willingness of governments to support international air transportation has been a measure of its actual and potential importance. The support that governments give to ICAO reflects both the value of international flying and the realization that international flying demands effective organs of international cooperation.

ICAO and Point 4

It is a curious anomaly that air transportation, the most modern and swift of transport's forms, often has its greatest relative value where technical development is backward and other means of transport are either entirely lacking or circuitous and ill-equipped and therefore expensive. Civil aviation development has already been an essential element in the development of a country's resources and the raising of its economic level in a number of instances. This is the sort of contribution that the United Nations technical assistance program (President Truman's "Point 4") is intended to encourage; and ICAO is one of the five specialized agencies participating in the preparations for technical assistance. In its particular application to civil aviation, technical assistance may mean an economic survey of the possibilities of benefit from an improved air-transport system; or it may (and probably more often will) mean advice on the training of local personnel for the operations of necessary aeronautical services, and the organization of training and technical missions. The precise form that such assistance may take and the number of requests that may be received will develop from future experience; but it needs no more experience to foresee that the technical assistance program, like the international financing of aeronautical services upon which so good a beginning has already been made, can be a major contribution to the fulfillment of the noblest hopes conceived for ICAO by those who drew its charter at the Chicago Conference five years ago.

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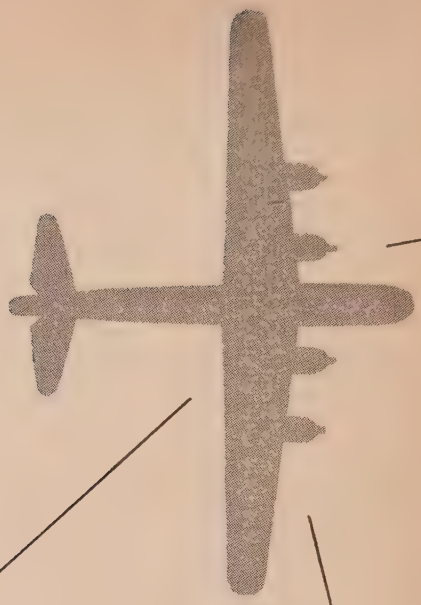
The Future of Air Cargo



By JOHN A. CHURCH, Jr.

Traffic Manager, Scandinavian Airlines System

AIRBORNE STEAK. The famous Kansas beef is cut and trimmed locally and flown to hotels and clubs from coast-to-coast.

THE history of air cargo, like the history of the airlines themselves, can be interpreted in terms of a world-wide trend towards unification. It is the history of a gradual emergence of perhaps the first system of transportation which will be essentially uniform throughout the world. This will be a unity in diversity: there is no serious suggestion of common ownership or operation. What is being accomplished, for the first time on a global scale, is an equalization of standards of service and responsibility, a uniformity of methods and forms, which will place the facilities of all the world's airlines potentially at the service of anyone who deals with any one airline, anywhere.

Perhaps the airlines had no choice but to unify and standardize. No one line could hope to serve the whole world. At some point it must transfer cargo to another airline. If it accepts shipments for points it does not directly serve, it must be able to quote through-rates to its clients and offer them connections as dependable as its own.

Unification is by no means complete. Not all airlines seem always aware of it. Nevertheless, sometimes in spite of itself, the industry has gone far toward this goal.

A rough distinction can be made between the methods for achieving unification which air cargo carriers have used in the US and Canada, on the one hand, and in the rest of the world on the other. Two distinct types of organization have grown up, which so far evince only a slight tendency to merge.

In the US and Canada, the tend-

NET WEIGHT. Nets 1000 pounds each and worth $1500 are coiled into hatch of plane in San Francisco en route to Fijis.

ency has been for the airlines to obtain the benefits of unification by turning their cargo-handling over, lock, stock and barrel, to specialized organizations which perform all cargo traffic functions for them on an industry-wide basis. Elsewhere, the airlines have handled their own cargo, usually under industry-wide agreements standardizing documents and services.

Why the difference exists is not certain but it is an old one. The North American operators, after brief attempts at independent air cargo operation, in the late nineteen-twenties turned over to Railway Express Agency, Inc. (together with its Canadian affiliates) all cargo operations short of actually flying the goods. Under this arrangement, REA advertised and sold "Air Express" without reference to any particular airline by name, and issued its own receipts for all shipments. It performed pick-up and delivery, and made up and dispatched the airlines' loads. The public, under this system, had little more contact with the airlines than has the sender of an ordinary airmail letter.

In 1945, several US airlines began "air freight" operations of their own. Shortly after, however, they joined in forming Air Cargo, Inc., an organization which undertook in 1947, for air cargo, much the same traffic services that Railway Express Agency, Inc., still performs for air express. Under Air Cargo, Inc., the individual airlines retained their identity for advertising and sales purposes, but do not perform any cargo-handling operations themselves.

European practice has been for the airlines to perform their own sales and traffic functions right from the start. It was to regulate this practice, and related passenger-traffic and other functions, that the "old IATA," the International Air Traffic Association, was formed. Under it, at a very early date, documents and practices were made uniform. This was probably facilitated by the peculiarly European practice whereby two airlines operating parallel service exchanged general agency agreements. Each would become sales and handling agent for the other at one end of the line, and available traffic would be shared as provided in the agreement.

It is possible that European practice has its character chiefly due to the fact that it has always been predominantly international, as opposed to the chiefly domestic character of US air cargo service even at present. This may also explain why the European system, rather than the North American has spread to most parts of the world as air cargo service has been introduced. Granted a large area under nearly uniform law and relatively free of customs lines, it is likely that the North American system is more economic.

Handling fast freight has always presented difficulties where more than one carrier is involved. Even now, for example, air cargo shippers look askance at transshipments, where one carrier stops acting as a carrier and becomes a forwarder over another carrier's lines, and air cargo operators regard as nuisances the special services, such as pick-up and delivery, they find they must offer to get business. The reasons can be boiled down to one general statement: the business of an airline carrier is entirely different from that of a forwarding-agent or a local truckman; it is very difficult to train one staff to be efficient at all three. Be that as it may, in most parts of the world there can be no choice. An "Air Cargo, Inc." on a world-wide basis simply is not feasible right now.

Instead, the International Air Transport Association began moving vigorously to organize international air carriage throughout the world along what we have called "European" lines, early in 1946. The task of standardization it has faced has been much more difficult than that of the North American airlines. Laws and practices differ in the various countries to an astonishing extent. A multitude of individual treaties, and at least one multilateral convention which not all governments—alas!—have signed, create a solid groundwork of non-uniformity staggering.

An early achievement was the sta-

FLYING JEEP. Ascending ramp into Boeing C-97 Stratofreighter. Plane is able to carry a two-and-a-half ton truck.

The Future of Air Cargo *continued*

bilization of rates and charges in most areas. On the whole, American views of what such stabilization implies have prevailed, although, oddly enough, the Americas are the one area in which IATA has had little success in establishing rates. One reason is the existence of the US itself, stretching across many of the international routes involved, but not itself within the scope of IATA, which is confined to international affairs. Fixing rates, when there is no control over long sectors of parallel competitive routes, has obvious drawbacks. An extension of conference rate-making into the US, on the other hand, would raise further problems, not the least of which involves the propriety of non-US flag airlines' establishing domestic US rates. One must also reckon with the North American's traditional dislike of what he would be apt to describe as "collusive rate-fixing." There is no IATA-type rate-conference in the US and no immediate prospect of one.

Probably the gravest objection, however, to fixing rates elsewhere in the Americas is the prevalence of irregular carriers, as well as scheduled airlines not members of IATA. While such airlines must file their rates with governments, they do not need to obtain conference permission to do so, and airlines bound by conference cannot avoid a certain slowness of action. Where irregulars are few and weak, their effect on the total trade may be ignored. There is a point, however, when they definitely incapacitate carriers not free to meet them on their own terms.

The problem has spread from the Americas, and in the opinion of several IATA members, is now imperiling the North Atlantic rate-structure. The product of years of persistent effort, that rate-structure can stand only so long as within it, conference airlines can obtain a fair share of the traffic. Their share at present may be no more than half. Resultantly the future of conference cargo-rates in that area may well be doubtful.

A happier result has been achieved by IATA, with rather more difficulty, in standardizing documents and methods since the war. The effort has encountered every difficulty, it would seem, that the legal hand of man can devise. Triumphing over these obstacles, the Association has secured the adoption of a uniform airwaybill (bill of lading). This is the most important document a cargo carrier issues,—the shipper's contract of carriage, his receipt for his shipment and guarantee of performance. Several years were required to draw a contract assuring the public and the airlines adequate protection under the laws of all governments, and to secure those governments' approval. Of almost equal importance to truly world-wide operation is the uniform interline contract, under which shipments can be rapidly and efficiently transferred from airline to airline as need be, to reach their destinations. Whether or not the airline that accepts a shipment actually serves the destination to which it is addressed, is becoming increasingly a matter of indifference.

It may be interesting to consider very briefly the probable future of the industry whose development has been sketched above. It can be roughly covered in one phrase: *it will grow.* Statistics have been avoided here, because accurate figures, for most areas, are unobtainable, and as a result, any "compilation" must necessarily be partial. North Atlantic traffic provides perhaps the clearest example of the post-war trend, since it dates, for practical purposes, from the close of hostilities. A parallel increase has been noted in the air cargo traffic in most other areas. Recent estimates of cargo traffic carried by US flag airlines, domestic and overseas, run to roughly two hundred million ton-miles for 1948, and between three and four hundred million for 1949.

The reasons for the increase are probably not fully understood, but factors such as general economic conditions (especially outside the US), improvements in service, air cargo rate-levels, and increasing public awareness are certainly important. It is possible that the greatest effects of general economic improvements since the war have already been felt by the industry. A change in conditions, unless very violent, may not greatly affect the volume of international air cargo, except momentarily. There are many indications that even at present rates, the airlines are not carrying all of the cargo that they could move profitably by air. It is likely that the further education of the public will be a factor of more importance than economic fluctuation for some years to come.

Probably the two most important factors are rates and service, both involved in IATA's efforts to standardize and stabilize the trade. For those interested in the figures, we might mention some comparative rate figures here. Since 1946, when some carriers charged $1.00 per ton-mile, the basic rate has dropped to a present level of $0.45 per ton-mile except on small shipments. (A rate per ton-mile is what it would cost to ship one short ton one mile. To obtain rates per pound, for instance, one multiplies by the miles to be carried and divides by 2,000.) Due to the existence of many reduced specific commodity rates, the actual average rate is probably no higher than $0.40 per ton-mile. The rates of irregular carriers are considerably lower. It can be predicted with fair certainty that IATA will tend to reduce its rates in the face of the competition, and experience indicates that the increase in cargo that results will more than compensate for the drop in revenue per pound.

Air cargo is useful for a number of reasons. It is quick, saving interest charges. It is relatively safe, reducing packing and insurance costs. It is simple, doing away with loading cranes and other nuisances of surface shipment. It can be all these things and more—to a greater or less degree. When it performs these functions well, it is a means of saving shippers money, and the volume of shipments increases. Insofar as it is inefficient, it is unbearably costly and its revenues decline. More than any other factor, improvements in the efficiency of the industry will contribute to its rapid expansion during the next few years.

SOW *continued from p. 9*

There are virtually no UN diplomats who genuinely fear that the Soviet withdrawal may be the prelude to a final and definitive break with the UN. The real reason for the Russian action in the first place, it is generally believed, was Moscow's desire to convince the Chinese Communist government that the USSR was willing to fight for it. Moscow has now created the emotional atmosphere to which its dialectics commit it. As soon as a face-saving opportunity is offered the Soviet delegation will march back into the UN.

For this reason, the other delegations and high Secretariat officials are being extremely punctilious. The Russions claim that no UN decisions are valid so long as they do not participate in arriving at them. The UN does not accept this premise, but it is going to every possible length to create no further obstacles to the Russians' return.

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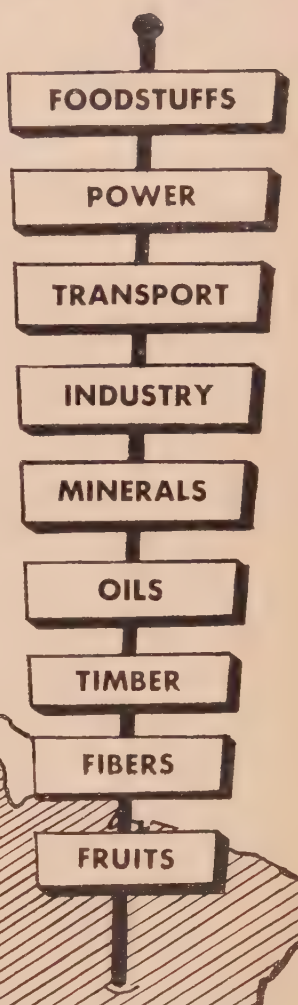

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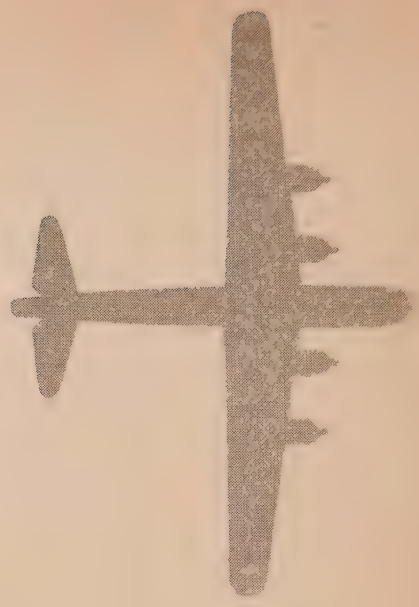

20 Questions of The Air Age

The Editors of UNW put to the world's foremost aviation authorities the 20 questions on air travel most frequently asked by world-minded readers. The replies comprise a quick guide to the outstanding problems of today's civilian aviation.

1 *What are the principal attractions of international air travel for the average traveller?*

The first is, of course, speed—in air transport it enables the busy man of affairs or the short vacationer to squeeze the utmost of useful time from the amount at his disposal and to make trips impossible by surface transport. The second is convenience: air transport is straight-line transport and eliminates intervening borders; its schedules are frequent; and the travels of its customers expedited by special arrangements and staffs. The third reason is comfort, for air transport can choose its weather, following the favorable winds and flying well above surface storms. Still another is economy: rates are steadily going down.

Helion de Villeneuve
Directeur Commercial
AIR FRANCE

2 *Is air traffic control keeping pace with the increased volume of air travel?*

Yes, although it's a neck and neck race! The trans-Atlantic passenger does not realize it, but his aircraft is under constant ground watch. All major international airports and many more besides, are equipped with ILS (instrument landing system) and many have GCA (ground controlled approach by radar) as well. The installation of approach lighting is increasing and there's a constant radar watch over air traffic in many concentrated air traffic areas.

Notable examples are Washington, New York, London, Berlin and Frankfurt.

R. E. S. Deichler
Vice President,
AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC.

3 *How do the international airlines keep abreast of the weather?*

Airline weather forecasting is based on an almost world-wide network of reporting stations, including weather ships maintained over the North Atlantic routes by member nations of ICAO. These reports pass continuously to aircraft in flight, enabling them to fly over or around adverse weather conditions and to take advantage of the winds they create.

John R. Joyce
Vice President,
AEROVIAS GUEST, S.A.

4 *To what extent do international airlines co-operate on the technical problems of operational dependability and efficiency?*

To the very fullest extent. In these matters airlines have no secrets from one another. Rather, they pool their individual knowledge and experience for the common benefit of all airlines and the public they serve. Through the technical organization of the International Air Transport Association, the technicians, engineers and pilots are in constant communication and exchange of information.

Antonio Farini
Manager,
AVIO LINEE ITALIANE

5 *Do commercial international airlines serve any humanitarian function?*

They are constantly available and always willing and able to help in time of crisis and trouble. Hardly a day passes without some individual errand of mercy, such as the rush shipment of a vital vaccine or an iron lung; in time of epidemics, they make available to a stricken city or country the blood plasma, drugs, doctors and nurses of the whole world.

John B. Walker
Vice President,
BRANIFF AIRWAYS

6 *What is the future of international air cargo? Will it ever compete effectively with surface transport?*

At its present spectacular rate of development, air cargo is coming up to the most optimistic hopes of the airlines. It is the most rapidly expanding part of the international payload: the sales efforts, the rate policies and the market research studies of the airlines are designed to promote further expansion. Air cargo develops its own market and is a complement, rather than a direct competitor, of surface transport.

P. C. F. Lawton
Commercial Manager,
BRITISH EUROPEAN AIRWAYS

7 *Is jet propulsion of commercial transport aircraft regarded as the next step in technical progress of international aviation?*

At present, it appears that the principal factor which may delay the introduction of fully jet-propelled aircraft is the inadequacy of the present air traffic control procedure. Means must be found to reduce the time during which an aircraft may be held over an airport awaiting its turn to land. The fuel consumption of jet-propelled aircraft is very high and though the high speeds attained largely compensate for this on the routes, it makes stacking impracticable.

Thus, though fully jet-propelled aircraft are already flying, aircraft with propellers driven by gas turbines may well be an intermediate step.

Apart from the difficulties involved in solving the problem of air traffic control, 1952 would be reasonable estimate for the introduction of jet aircraft on limited commercial operations.

Major J. Ronald McCrindle
Member of the Board,
BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION

8 *Does air transport offer a future to youth?*

More, perhaps, than any other industry, it does indeed; for the youth who is willing to take intensive and specialized training in one or more of the many skills which air transport demands. That they are willing is indicated by the increase in highly popular courses in all phases of aviation in high schools, colleges and universities.

H. B. Main
Director Sales & Traffic,
CANADIAN PACIFIC AIR LINES

9 *To what extent do the scheduled airlines represent a major employment factor in international economy?*

To an extent entirely beyond the comparatively small size of the industry. The airlines themselves employ perhaps 500,000 people on their own payrolls. More than a million others, however, are employed in building, servicing and repairing their aircraft, manning the airports, weather stations, landing and navigation aids, and providing auxiliary services.

Stanley de J. Osborne
Vice President,
EASTERN AIR LINES

10 *Are the standards of scheduled airlines more rigid than those of non-scheduled or "irregular" operators?*

Much more—and in many ways. For example, American requirements which scheduled operators *must*—and others *need not*—meet, include: compulsory careful surveys of

routes before starting commercial operations; the use of approved airports only; definite and rigid minima for landing and takeoff; the clearing of all departures through government certificated dispatchers; and captain pilots fully certificated as Airline Transport Pilots, further tested for the specific operation by a government or airline check pilot. The latter point is highly important to the safety of the travelling public for it means that before a pilot can take command of a scheduled flight, he must be tested in the operation of the route in the kind of equipment actually used and must be thoroughly familiar with every airport at which he will land and take off. In many parts of the world, the scheduled airlines maintain special communications systems for contact with their planes in flight, in addition to the government communications circuits.

Sir William P. Hildred
Director General,
INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOC.

11 *What is the influence of international air transport on world commerce and industry? On individual industries?*

This really requires a book. But very briefly, it has tremendously expanded the accessible market and source of supply for virtually all industries. It has speeded the tempo of commercial transaction and personnel movement—the busy executive can visit his markets and suppliers without loss of time. It enables a reduction of static inventory and makes possible quick supply. It has opened hitherto inaccessible sources of raw materials and given wider markets to the suppliers of perishable goods. As for individual industries, it has revolutionized flower marketing. International oil companies move almost 90% of their personnel by air.

F. von Balluseck
Vice President—Traffic,
KLM ROYAL DUTCH AIRLINES

12 *To what extent have air speeds increased in the past 10 years—20 years?*

Twenty years ago the Ford and Stinson trimotors were cruising at about 115 mph. In 1939, the Lockheed Lodestar had a cruising speed of 200 to 204 mph, while transoceanic flying boats were doing about 150 mph. Today's Constellations, DC-6s and Stratocruisers cruise at more than 300 mph. Tomorrow—who shall say?

Dean J. Hanscom
Western Traffic Manager,
NORTHWEST ORIENT AIRLINES

13 *How many aircraft are currently in operation over the routes of the international airlines?*

The combined fleets of IATA members now total more than 2,500 aircraft. Number alone is not, however, an exact criterion, for they vary greatly in size, range and capacity, depending upon the kind of transport job each must do.

John T. Shannon
Vice President,
PAN AMERICAN-GRACE AIRWAYS

14 *Has the cost of international air travel decreased in ten years? If so, by about what percentage?*

A key rate in the tariff structure of the international airlines is that for the flight between New York and London. Since the first commercial flights were staged on that route ten years ago, the round-trip fares have been reduced from more than $1,000 to $630 in the peak season, $466 in the off-season, and now, for 15-day excursions during the first ten weeks of 1950, to a new low of $385. Decreases on other routes and on cargo rates as well have been equally impressive.

Willis Lipscomb
Vice President,
PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS

15 *Do women's preferences influence the interior decoration of commercial airliners?*

Women's preferences are generally considered by most airlines as a leading influence on their interior decorations;—they often use women designers for the purpose. The arrangement, colors and designs of the interiors of current aircraft are most carefully planned for comfort, attractiveness and efficient use of space.

B. L. Anderson
Vice President, Traffic & Sales,
PHILIPPINE AIRLINES

16 *How many route miles are operated by the international airlines?*

The 69 members of IATA, who carry virtually all of the world's scheduled international air traffic, maintain more than 500,000 miles of routes, connecting approximately 1,000 traffic points.

Anson C. McKim
Vice President, Traffic,
TRANS-CANADA AIRLINES

17 *Has international air transport contributed to world recovery?*

International air transport has immeasurably aided both the initial postwar recovery effort and the Marshall Plan by its ability to move vitally needed goods and personnel between countries. Overseas tourist traffic, of which air transport is carrying an increasing amount, already puts $800,000,000 a year into international circulation. The international carriers operating between many points have established low fares for off-season periods in order to stimulate year-round tourist business in foreign countries. With continuing development, air transport should account for as much as $2,000,000,000 in international payments in the near future.

E. O. Cocke
Vice President,
TRANS WORLD AIRLINE

18 *To what extent is international air transport contributing to world peace?*

They are, in effect, the arteries of international contact and understanding. They have immensely speeded the exchange of men and ideas between nations, shrunk the distances and diminished the natural obstacles which have kept nations apart. They carry the statesmen of the world to the many and widespread meetings at which world problems are being solved on a universal basis, as well as the steady stream of men and women of good will.

L. Schoevaerts
Vice President,
SABENA BELGIAN AIRLINES

19 *To what extent has international air travel increased in the past ten years—and in thirty years?*

When international air transport started in 1919, it had 3,500 customers a year. Now it carries 20,000,000 passengers annually and lifts thousands of tons of cargo and mail. The most phenomenal period of its growth has been the last decade, when, pressed by wartime developments, the European and American networks have been joined, expanded and intensified.

Dennis H. Handover
Chairman,
SCANDINAVIAN AIRLINES SYSTEM LTD., LONDON

20 *What are the international airlines doing to reduce delays caused by governmental red tape?*

Everything humanly possible. As international carriers, they have worked closely with the International Civil Aviation Organization in putting to ICAO's member governments strong and detailed recommendations for streamlining and reducing and abolishing red tape. As citizens of their own countries, they are making every effort to persuade their governments to recognize the wisdom and necessity of compliance. As members of the world community, they are enlisting the support of all interested individuals and organizations by a campaign of information and publicity.

Harold Crary
Vice President, Traffic Sales,
UNITED AIR LINES

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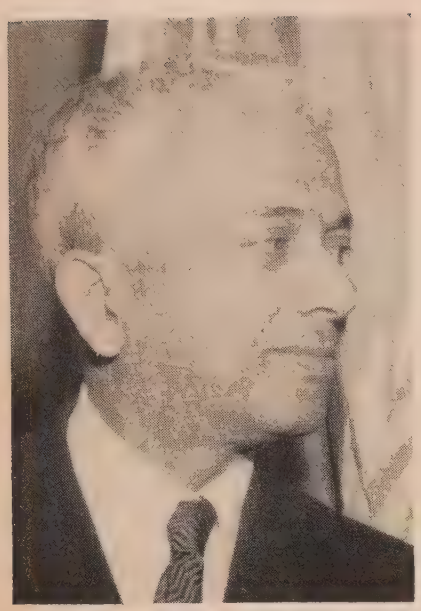


Atomic Control:

By SIR BENEGAL NARSING RAU
Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations

THE development of the hydrogen-bomb has brought to the fore once more the question of the international control of atomic energy. This is a subject of universal interest and, I may add, anxiety, on which, or at least on certain aspects of which, there is at present a divergence of views. The views expressed in this article are entirely personal to myself; they bind no one else; they do not even bind me, for I should like to reserve liberty to modify them, whether as the result of further thought or of new material.

I am often asked whether the development of the hydrogen-bomb has made the problem of control easier or more difficult. It has made the problem more urgent, but neither easier nor more difficult. In the last analysis, the difficulty of control springs from distrust.

It would be easy enough to impose a ban on the manufacture or use of atomic weapons; there may even be universal acceptance of the ban among the nations of the world, so far as words go; but will there be acceptance in deed as well as in word? And more than that—not merely should there be acceptance in deed by each state, but all the other states should be satisfied that there will be continued acceptance in deed. It is this last condition that is difficult to secure in practice; for it means effective inspection by an international agency enjoying the confidence of all the states of the world. This is, in reality, a synonym for an international police force charged with the function of discovering clandestine activities in a particular field. It is to be devoutly hoped that such an agency will be established—at least in this particular field—before very long; but it may take time. Can we do anything to accelerate the process and can we do anything in the meanwhile?

Let me deal with the second question first. During the last session of the General Assembly I made a proposal that the International Law Commission should be asked to draft, and submit to the General Assembly, a Declaration on the Duties of States and Individuals with respect to the use of atomic energy and the elimination of atomic weapons from national armaments. The Declaration was to take into consideration the recommendations of the Atomic Energy Commission already approved by the General Assembly. The proposal was, however, not adopted. An alternative that suggests itself is that instead of asking the International Law Commission to draft a Declaration the General Assembly should itself undertake the task; this would incidentally save some time. I venture to think that we have in the past over-emphasized the points of disagreement and have omitted to take full advantage of the points on which there is already agreement among the nations of the world.

For example, there is already unanimous agreement that the development and use of atomic energy should be subjected to effective inter-

The Time Is NOW

national control, although there is disagreement as to the powers necessary to make the international control agency really effective. Similarly there is agreement that there should be a ban on the use of atomic weapons, although there is disagreement as to whether the ban should be imposed immediately or should await the establishment of an effective system of international control. And so on. It should not be difficult to put together the points of agreement into a Declaration and thus consolidate the work already accomplished. As a basis for discussion I suggest a Declaration on the following lines:

I. (a) The development and use of atomic energy having now become a matter of international concern, it is the duty of every state to submit to, and act in aid of an effective system of international control adequate to ensure the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and the elimination of atomic weapons from national armaments, as well as to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

(b) No state or individual shall manufacture, possess or use atomic weapons.

(c) No state or individual shall use atomic energy except for peaceful purposes.

II. In ratifying or adhering to this Declaration any state may make a reservation that paragraphs (b) and (c) of Article I shall not apply to the state until the establishment of the international control system provided for in paragraph (a) of the same article:

Provided that in no case shall any state use atomic weapons except in legitimate self-defense.

Or, alternatively, provided that any atomic weapons made by any state shall be deemed to belong to the United Nations and shall in no case be used except with the sanction of the General Assembly or of any special body established by the General Assembly for this purpose.

I explained the advantages of such a declaration to the Ad Hoc Political Committee in November last and may repeat the explanation briefly here. Let us assume that a Declaration of this kind is adopted by the General Assembly and that the various member-states of the United Nations are invited to ratify it. Those states that are not making atomic weapons at the present time and have no intention of making or using any in future should find no difficulty in ratifying the Declaration immediately and unreservedly. There may be forty or fifty of these. Others—their number will be comparatively small—may find it necessary, while ratifying the Declaration, to make certain reservations. Even so there are two gains from this plan. First, it will be a guarantee to us that the forty or fifty states that ratify without reservation will never enter the race for atomic weapons. This is an important gain, because with further research, cheaper methods of manufacture might be discovered and the possession of the weapon become more widespread. A check on such a tendency here and now is not therefore without its value. The other important point to note is that a Declaration ratified by a large number of states, though not by every state, and though ratified by some states with reservations, can be the beginning of international law as instanced by the Declaration of Paris (1856) abolishing privateering and the Hague Declaration of 1899 and the Geneva Protocol (1925) against the use of poison gas and bacteriological methods of warfare.

Finally, can we do anything more at this stage, besides making a declaration of the kind outlined above? We can at least promote thinking along certain lines, even if it does not lead to immediate action. Let us contemplate for a moment the evolution and destiny of man. A mere speck in space and time, he has, in the intervals of a fierce struggle for existence, discovered not only the laws of the infinitely vast interstellar spaces, but also of the infinitely small intra-atomic structures. "Spark of the divinity that set the stars in the firmament," he is now in the process of making a miniature sun; for that is what the hydrogen-bomb is in essence. But there is this difference: while the real sun is the source of all life on our planet, the miniature sun threatens to be the source of death. Is this to be the sum of man's achievement? Can he rise no higher than to use all his knowledge to destroy the race?

An Editorial by Louis Dolivet

The H-Hour

THERE can be no doubt left in any intelligent mind that the world has entered into its deepest moral and physical crisis.

The moral crisis arises from the fact that ideas and principles are no longer considered by governments as able to triumph by themselves. They must therefore be backed by all-destructive weapons such as have never before been known.

The physical crisis is due to the fact that these weapons now threaten to wipe out life on earth.

There is one slight advantage in this situation: humanity at least is not going blindfold to the end of its existence. There are no illusions, no promises of easy victory or better life after the holocaust. Thus, every human being is confronted personally and directly with the question, "What can I do about it?"

In free countries, individual citizens, when acting together determinedly, have greater opportunity than ever before to make their will effective. They can influence their legislators at all levels. They can transform the newspapers, magazines, radio stations and movies into invaluable instruments of public debate and search for a solution. Every church, labor union, chamber of commerce—every group where people gather together—can become a powerful bastion of international law.

Such action, when and if taken by millions of individual citizens all over the world, would result almost overnight in a vastly changed political atmosphere. This would have immediate repercussions upon the citizens of countries where free debate does not exist.

Under present circumstances, the most important thing to know is, which of the existing instruments available in today's world can be most useful in achieving both peace and security from aggression, for all nations large and small. We are convinced that more than ever the United Nations organization is the sole instrument which can perform the much-needed miracle.

The world's most powerful rulers constantly proclaim that their countries' basic policies are founded upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. President Truman, in answer to those who are pressing for a new, direct negotiation with Joseph Stalin, has clearly stated that the US will discuss and negotiate—but only within the framework of the UN. We feel that the President is right, and that the UN alone offers a chance to all nations to participate in the elaboration of a solution to present problems.

The recent treaty between the Soviet Union and the new Communist regime in China stressed in its text its conformity with the principles of the UN. Whatever the real intentions behind that treaty, the very mention of the United Nations indicates how much importance is attached to it by the peoples of the Communist countries.

It is time to bring some sanity into the present situation, where one road after the other leading to world cooperation is being sealed off. For this it is indispensable that supporters of international-minded democratic groups of every shade unite their efforts at once. In the US especially there are innumerable gatherings of people—ranging from UN Associations to World Federalists and supporters of the Atlantic Union, from foreign policy groups to institutes on world affairs, women's clubs, labor and industrial associations, religious organizations and youth committees—which must unite in one supreme effort around the UN.

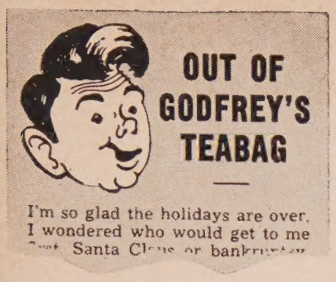
Any one who travels around the country speaking before various organizations is aware of the grass roots eagerness to achieve such unity. The national leadership of these various associations and committees must recognize this strong desire on the part of their membership, and act without fail.

We feel that a general convention of all international-minded American groups, to be followed by a world convention, would galvanize the governments into action. The agenda for such conventions should be specific, dealing only with items on which all are agreed. These are, in our opinion:

1. Security from aggression—through effective control of atomic energy;
2. Economic security—through implementation of the UN Technical Assistance program;
3. The organization of world public opinion toward effective action.

This is not the time for petty squabbles, personal jealousies, one-man shows or dogmatic views. It *is* the time for generous, imaginative leadership and for dynamic action.

audroue



OUT OF GODFREY'S TEABAG

I'm so glad the holidays are over. I wondered who would get to me first, Santa Claus or bankruptcy.

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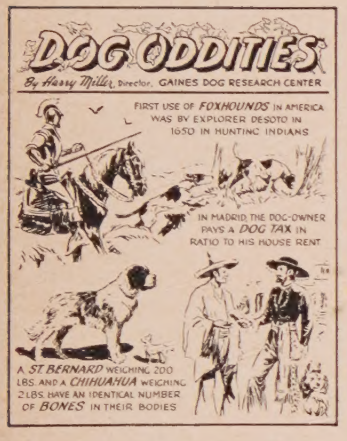
Road To The Poorhouse

America's most popular toy this year is called the "crasher truck."


DOG ODDITIES
By Harry Miller, Director, GAINES DOG RESEARCH CENTER
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IN MADRID THE DOG-OWNER PAYS A DOG TAX IN RATIO TO HIS HOUSE RENT
A ST. BERNARD WEIGHING 200 LBS. AND A CHIHUAHUA WEIGHING 2 LBS. HAVE AN IDENTICAL NUMBER OF BONES IN THEIR BODIES

Two words of advice about information

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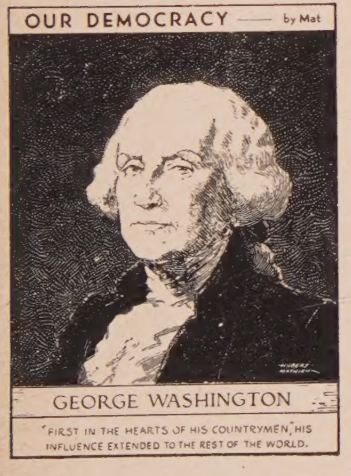
OUR DEMOCRACY — by Mat
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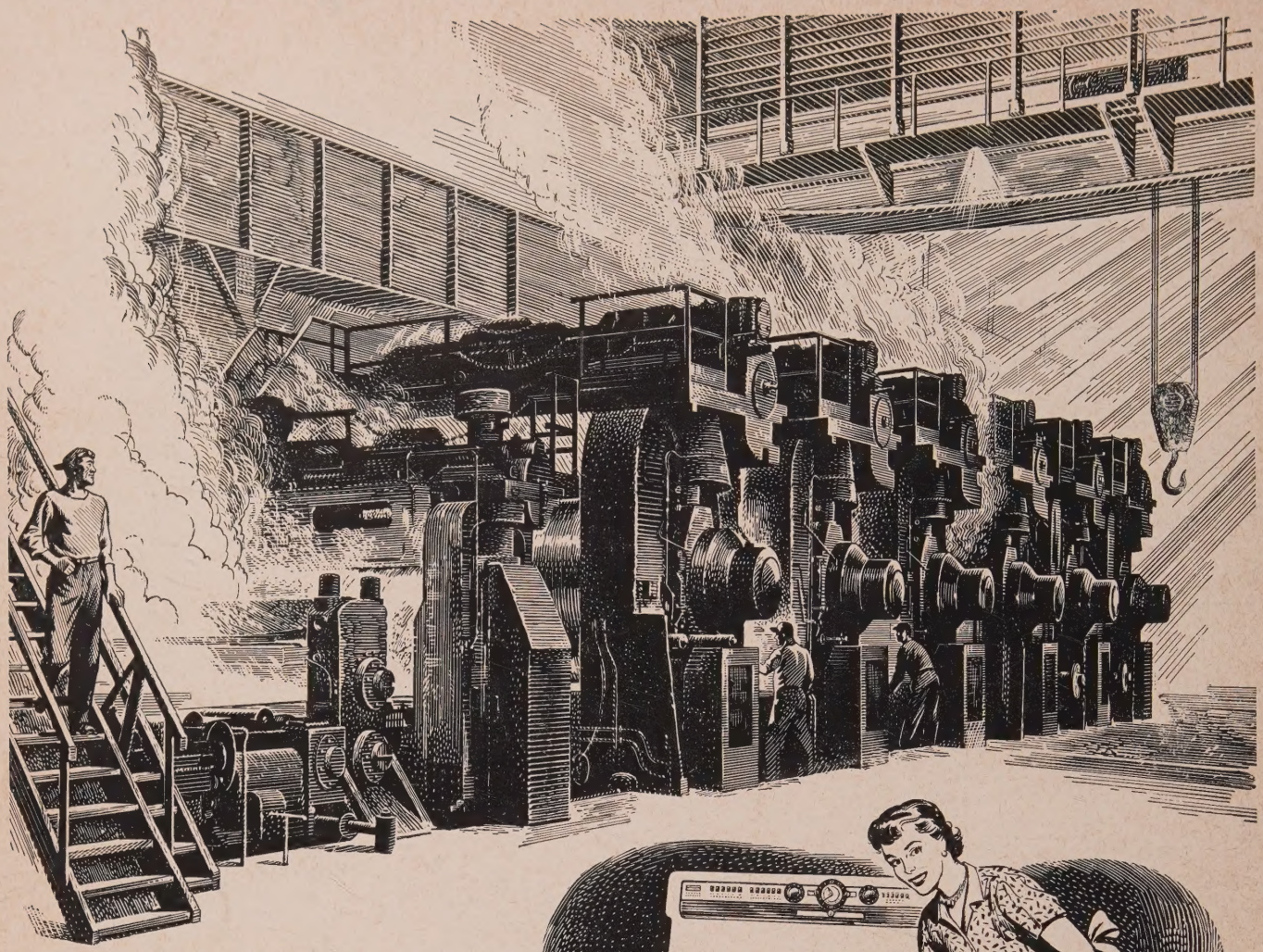

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